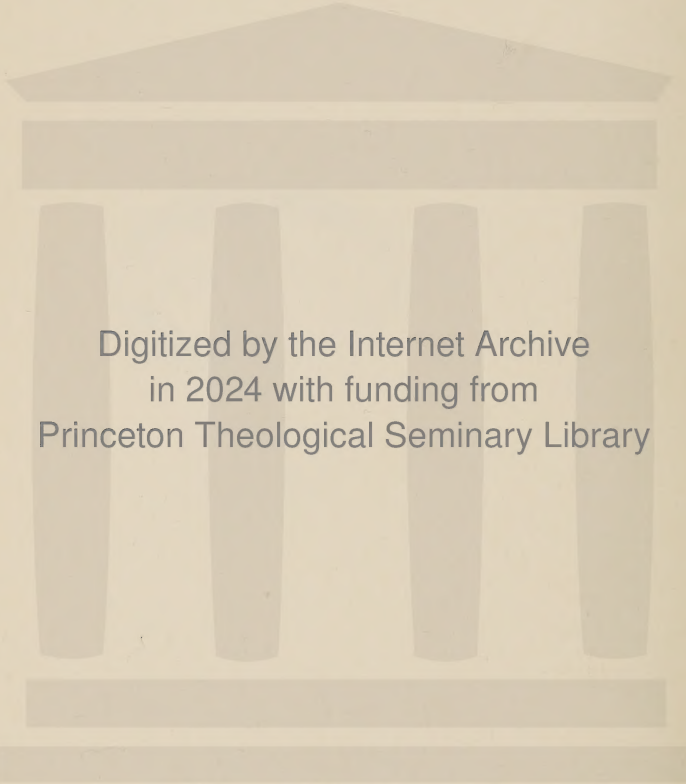


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A HISTORY OF  
THE DIOCESE OF RICHMOND

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*The Formative Years*

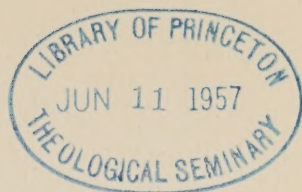






ST. PETER'S CHURCH, RICHMOND. (THE OLD CATHEDRAL.)





# A HISTORY *of* THE DIOCESE *of* RICHMOND

*The Formative Years*



*by*

JAMES HENRY BAILEY, II, M.A., PH.D.

CHANCERY OFFICE  
DIOCESE OF RICHMOND

1956

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FOR  
OUR LADY OF PERPETUAL HELP





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# Foreword

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THIS Dissertation of James Henry Bailey II of Petersburg, looking to the Doctorate of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Arts and Science of Georgetown University, comes most opportunely in this year, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Consecration of our Richmond Cathedral. Enthusiastically I acceded to his request, reinforced by his Professor of History, that he select as the topic for his dissertation a "History of the Diocese of Richmond." Under counsel, Dr. Bailey limited the circumscription from the beginning days to the close of Bishop McGill's life in 1872.

As he relates, the only other history or chronicle is that of Father F. Joseph Magri, which encompasses from the diocese's foundation to the year 1906 when the Cathedral was consecrated. One of the determining factors in Father Magri's "The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond" was to pay tribute to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Fortune Ryan who donated the money to build the Cathedral.

On the occasion of one or other parochial jubilees a number of the parishes have published the story of their parish. Some of these have been most creditable and have been a partial source of material for such works as Father Magri's and Dr. Bailey's.

We hope the day is not too distant when a continuance shall be effected through the incumbencies of

Bishop Gibbons, Bishop Keane, Bishop Van de Vyver,  
Bishop O'Connell and Bishop Brennan.

Dr. Bailey has placed all of us in the diocese under  
a debt of gratitude; we felicitate him and are grateful  
to him.

+PETER L. IRETON,  
*Bishop of Richmond*

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## Preface

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THE writing of this history has been beset by a peculiar difficulty. The archives of the Diocese of Richmond down to 1872, the terminal year for this narrative, are exceedingly meagre. This fact needs no explanation when one reads of the pathetic struggles of the growing Church in Virginia. The marvel is not that the early archival records in the Chancery Office at Richmond are few, but that the poverty-stricken diocese, so rent at times by internal dissension, so often decimated by yellow fever and cholera, so continuously set upon by acidulous prejudice, should itself have survived. The first three bishops of Richmond were totally occupied with the fight to keep their see organized and alive; they could not become other than the most terse of archivists.

For this story the other principal depository of documentary materials are those relatively few papers pertinent to the Virginian diocese in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives. These the writer has carefully examined and utilized. The Archives of Saint Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, Mount Saint Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Maryland, and Woodstock College were found to contain no valuable information on this topic.

Therefore, in the absence of rich primary documentation, much reliance has of necessity been placed upon published material. Much of this latter, however, is

in the form of eye-witness or contemporary accounts of personalities and incidents, all of which observations constitute, in a sense, primary material. In this category, for example, fall Carne's *History of St. Mary's, Alexandria*, Claiborne's *Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia*, Captain John Dooley's war journal edited by Father Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., the four brochures brought out by the schismatic Fernandez at Norfolk, Forrest's *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity*, M. Glennan's *Reminiscences of Boyhood* and Hambleton's invaluable sketch of Henry A. Wise with its included history of Virginia's stirring gubernatorial campaign of 1855.

If the writer may be so bold, he should like to compare the situation with that with which Virginia's eminent historian, the late Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, was confronted in his preparation of the third and fourth volumes of his monumental biography of George Washington. Dr. Freeman pointed out in the General Bibliographical Note to the Fourth Volume, that "when the long-needed revision of the history of the American Revolution is taken in hand . . . investigators will be relieved or distressed, as personal feeling may dictate, to discover how large a part of the general source material is in book form and is accessible in most of the great libraries of the country." Five major published sources are cited by Dr. Freeman in his Introduction to the Third Volume as sufficing "in themselves to give an accurate and almost complete narrative of Washington's life." In like manner, four published works could be mentioned, in spite of the defects of three of them from the point of view of modern scientific



methodology, as supplying an essential coverage of the history of the Diocese of Richmond to 1872. These are the late Father F. Joseph Magri's *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, which must always remain a fundamental starting-point and an indispensable outline for any student of Virginia's Catholic history; the *Notes* and *Memoranda* respectively of those pioneer historians, Father Henry F. Parke and Judge Anthony M. Keiley; and the late Monsignor Peter Guilday's scholarly study of the Church of Virginia from 1815 to 1822.

Therefore, this history has constituted a special task which has required special treatment. It is, in essence, a long-needed synthesis of the best materials available on the subject. As such, it is an effort at a contribution to the field of historical scholarship in the same sense as is Schlesinger's unique synthesis of an era, *The Age of Jackson*. It is the first real synthesis of all the existing evidences on the story of the Diocese of Richmond from 1820 to 1872.

The undertaking was originally in the form of a doctoral dissertation at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., and the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to his mentor, Rev. Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., of that institution. He is also deeply grateful to His Excellency, Most Rev. Peter L. Ireton, D.D., Bishop of Richmond, who has constantly encouraged this undertaking and who has been in every conceivable way thoroughly cooperative, to His Excellency, Most Rev. Vincent S. Waters, Bishop of Raleigh, without whose painstaking care and arrangement, when he was chancellor of the Richmond diocese, of the existing archives,

this work would have been infinitely poorer, and to His Excellency, Most Rev. Francis P. Keough, Archbishop of Baltimore, who graciously consented to the photostating of certain documents in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives for permanent retention at Richmond. Very Rev. Robert O. Hickman, former chancellor of the Diocese of Richmond, and Very Rev. Justin D. McClunn, the present chancellor and Rev. John J. Duggan, Chancellor, and Rev. Paul L. Love, Archivist, of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, have been helpful beyond the call of duty. The late Rev. Clayton Torrence, former editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, and Mr. John J. Daly, editor of *The Catholic Virginian*, both generously extended to the author the use of their columns for an appeal for information bearing on his topic; Mr. Milton C. Russell, Head, and Mrs. Bertie Craig Smith, Assistant Head, Reference and Circulation Section, Virginia State Library, Richmond, and Miss Norma Cuthbert, Cataloguer, Department of Manuscripts, Henry F. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, have aided materially. To Dr. Tibor Kerekes and to Dr. Charles C. Tansill, of Georgetown University, the author is most grateful for their sustained, interested, and inspiring help. The diocese and the author are, of course, in the debt of the Publications Committee of The Graduate School, Georgetown University, for their gracious permission for the revision and publication of one of the university's dissertations.

Finally, the author wishes to state his lasting gratitude to his father, the late J. Harry Bailey, to his mother, and to his aunts, the Misses Margaret and

Gertrude Bailey, without whose loving and completely self-sacrificing assistance this work, under God, could never have been written.

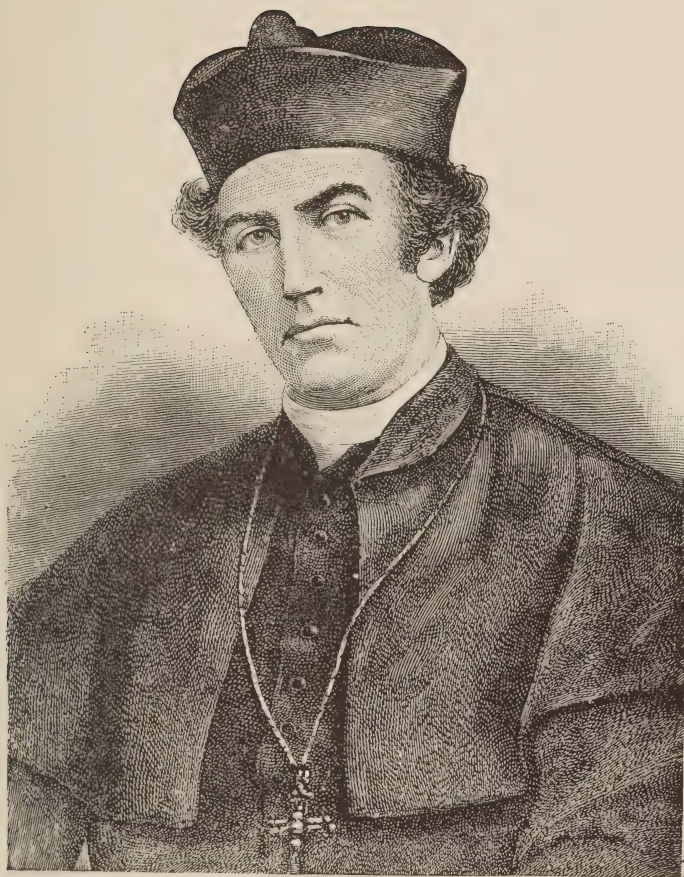
JAMES H. BAILEY, II

*Richmond, Virginia*

*Feast of Saint Bede the Venerable, 1955*







RT, REV. PATRICK KELLY, D. D.,  
*First Bishop of Richmond.*



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# Introduction

## THE HALLOWING OF THE GROUND

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*"... go forth to give your own blood where so many have shed the blood of their neighbors; to offer the gold of brotherly love where so many have sought the gold of the earth; to make a new entry on that New World strand and preach Christ crucified for the conquest of souls."*—SAINT FRANCIS BORGIA.<sup>1</sup>

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### I

ALTHOUGH the ensuing narrative is concerned solely with the origin and growth of the Diocese of Richmond, which was not established until the year 1820, a sketch is in order of the first introduction of the Catholic religion into the region now comprised within that diocese. Especially is this so since the pre-diocesan history of the Church on Virginian soil is a rich, dramatic, and inspiring account, even though the valiant attempts of the Spanish explorers to plant the Cross proved abortive, and even though the light of the Faith was well nigh extinguished by the darkness of persecution in the era of colonization.

John Gilmary Shea, that most eminent of historians of the American Church, placed the beginning of Catholicism's story in what is now Virginia in 1526 when he asserted that the Dominican friar, Antonio de Montesinos, offered Mass upon the site on which the English were to build Jamestown, but which the Span-

ish explorers, under Don Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, had called San Miguel after the great archangel.<sup>2</sup> This statement by Shea has been accepted by Father V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., the chronicler of his order's history in early Florida, and the late Rev. Michael Kenny, S.J., of Spring Hill College in Alabama.<sup>3</sup> In sharp disagreement with Shea's thesis are the distinguished Hispanist, Woodbury Lowery, and the expert on North American Indian tribes and their lands, John R. Swanton. The first of these scholars places San Miguel on the Pedee River in what is now South Carolina,<sup>4</sup> and the second locates it "at or near the mouth of the Savannah."<sup>5</sup> Rev. Clifford M. Lewis, S.J., co-author of *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572*, vigorously upholds Lowery and Swanton in their contention that the settlement was not on the James, but admits that "the last word on this question has not been said."<sup>6</sup>

The next chapter in Virginia's Catholic history is the subject of the aforementioned fascinating study, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572*, by Father Lewis and Rev. Albert J. Loomie, S.J., which achieved publication in 1953.

From this exhaustive work we learn that by the latter part of the sixteenth century the body of water now called the Chesapeake was known to the Spanish as Saint Mary's Bay, or the Bay of the Mother of God.<sup>7</sup> From a region probably adjacent to this bay an Indian youth was brought to Mexico by an exploring party about 1561, either as a captive or on a voluntary basis.<sup>8</sup> In any event he was christened with the Viceroy, Don Luis Velasco, whose name he then took, standing his sponsor.<sup>9</sup>

About 1565, the Adelantado of Florida, Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, began to plan an exploration of Saint Mary's Bay, an idea advanced by the help of Don Luis, the Indian, when King Philip II, by an order of March the twenty-second of that year, remanded the Virginian aborigine to the custody of the Adelantado.<sup>10</sup> Don Luis boasted that he wished to lead missionaries to his homeland for the conversion of his brethren.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Menéndez began to beg Saint Francis Borgia, General of the Society of Jesus, for more priests, brothers, and catechists for the missions in Florida.<sup>12</sup>

In response to the latter appeal, Father Baptista de Segura, S.J., and Brother Pedro Linares, S.J., were sent forth from Spain in April, 1568.<sup>13</sup> Father de Segura, a native of Toledo, had been raised to the priesthood from the rank of lay brother only through obedience and over his repeated protests, and had drawn up with the saintly Borgia a compact of spiritual friendship.<sup>14</sup> Brother Linares was an Italian whose original name had been Mingoci.<sup>15</sup> They were accompanied by three lay catechists, Cristobal Redondo of Burgos, Gabriel de Solis, a nephew of Menéndez, and John Baptista Mendez of Ubeda.<sup>16</sup> These intrepid men were joined in 1570 by Father Luis de Quiros, S.J., scion of an aristocratic family of Andalusia, Brother Gabriel Gomez, S.J., also an Andalusian, and Brother Sancho Zeballos, S.J., who had begged to be sent upon a perilous mission.<sup>17</sup>

On the fifth of August, 1570, these individuals, under the leadership of Father de Segura, who had been named the first vice-provincial of the Society of Jesus in Florida, accompanied by Don Luis and a small boy,



Alonso de Olmos, the son of a Floridian colonist who had been trained to serve at Mass, sailed for Saint Mary's Bay.<sup>18</sup> Father Segura was determined to establish himself at Ajacan, as his territorial destination was called, without a garrison of soldiers who might give bad example or stir up trouble among the natives, and Menéndez, because of his decimated garrisons, must have consented to such a perilous arrangement.<sup>19</sup>

The little band reached the land of Don Luis in September,<sup>20</sup> probably stopped to say Mass at the site of the present city of Newport News, and proceeded up the James to College Creek before they disembarked and bade farewell to their vessel and her crew.<sup>21</sup> According to the most recent research, they next carried their supplies over to Queens Creek and paddled them down to the York River to a Chiskiac village, where they constructed a hut and a modest chapel of logs.<sup>22</sup> This first temple of Christian worship in Virginia was then not located in the region of the Rappahannock River, as was thought by Shea, Kenny, and the Virginian historian, Alexander Brown.<sup>23</sup>

The vessel which returned to Santa Elena in Florida bore a letter written by Father Quiros which described the desolate condition of the famine-stricken country and the consequent dependence of the missionaries on the natives for food, and asked that a ship be dispatched to bring corn for the Indians to plant not later than the beginning of the following April.<sup>24</sup> The sign to be given upon the vessel's approach that all was well with the mission band would be signal fires near the harbor.<sup>25</sup>

These fires never blazed. As a consequence, when the ship came at last from Santa Elena in the spring of 1571, the pilot, fearing the organized hostility of the natives, instead of landing, put out to sea. Before he was well under way, however, two braves were captured from a canoe, and they disclosed the fact that the boy Alonso was still alive.<sup>26</sup> Not until the summer of 1572 did three rescue ships, with Menéndez himself aboard one, sail from Havana.<sup>27</sup> Alonso, who had been saved from destruction only because a chief had whimsically adopted him,<sup>28</sup> was delivered up by his captors, and a chief with several of his warriors were hanged at the yardarm as an example to their fellows.<sup>29</sup> The boy Alonso then told the harrowing tale of the massacre of his companions in February, 1571, a tragedy brought about by the treachery of Don Luis, who had early deserted his Christian friends and principles and reverted to the savage paganism of his people.<sup>30</sup>

## II

When the English came to Virginia they brought with them that savage animosity to the Catholic Faith which gave so many dark and bloody pages to the history of their country under the Tudor and Stuart monarchs. In the new colony this animosity was intensified after 1635 by the immediate proximity of a Catholic settlement in Maryland.

The letters patent issued by James I in 1606 granting license to lead out a colony and to establish a plantation in Virginia prescribed that the Church of England must be the established form of religion in that plantation.<sup>31</sup> The second charter of 1609, confirmed in 1612,

added that no person suspected of effecting the "superstitions" of the Church of Rome should be admitted to the colony.<sup>32</sup> Under this provision, Lord Baltimore, even though he was a personal friend of the king, was not permitted to remain at Jamestown.<sup>33</sup> Much later, several shiploads of Acadians, expelled by the English from their homeland, were not suffered to tarry on Virginia's soil.<sup>34</sup> Popish recusants were forbidden to hold office; in 1699 they were deprived of the right to vote; and, in 1705, an act declared them incompetent to act as witnesses in a court of law.<sup>35</sup> Thus not even the mother country herself sought to degrade the Catholic as Virginia did. He was placed below the Negro slave, for though the latter could not be a witness against a white person, a Catholic could not stand as witness against a man, white or black. The most atrocious crime could be committed in the presence of a Catholic on his wife or daughter and his testimony could not be taken against the criminal. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, the Papists were forbidden to keep arms, and were even prevented from owning a horse worth over five pounds, lest they side with their Gallic coreligionists.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of these enactments, we know that there were Catholics living in the Colony. In addition to the settlers on the tract of land in Stafford County belonging to the distinguished Catholic family of Brent,<sup>37</sup> there were many Irish immigrants, numbers of whom at an early date seem to have penetrated into the Valley region.<sup>38</sup> These did not lack for the occasional consolations of their religion, for heroic Jesuit priests, usually from nearby Maryland, ever and anon

at risk of life and limb, penetrated into Virginia to administer the Sacraments.<sup>39</sup> It would be futile here to chronicle each of these isolated ministrations, many of which indeed must have gone unrecorded by human hand, but they stand as significant episodes in the long history of the Church and of the development of liberty in America.

That precious liberty did not dawn in the Old Dominion until after the American Revolution. In 1776, the last of the state conventions which met in the interim between the abolition of the House of Burgesses and the resumption of a General Assembly under the Commonwealth adopted its famous Declaration of Rights, drawn up by George Mason, the sixteenth section of which had been proposed by Patrick Henry.<sup>40</sup> This section asserted that "all men should enjoy the fullest freedom in the exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience,"<sup>41</sup> but the Church of England was still considered as established and certain of its perquisites remained until the passage of a more explicit act in 1784.<sup>42</sup> More significantly, the plan of government or constitution drawn up by the same convention in 1776 declared that the "right of suffrage in the election of members to both Houses shall remain as exercised at present."<sup>43</sup> Although these qualifications remained on the statute books substantially unchanged until 1830, they were by implication repealed in 1785 by Section III of Thomas Jefferson's "Act for Establishing Religious Freedom," one of the great charters of human liberty.<sup>44</sup> The way was at last clear for the normal development in Virginia of an organized Catholic group.





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## CHAPTER I

# The Diocese of Richmond is Born in Pain

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*"... this affair of my exaltation has been to me a source of more serious uneasiness than I recollect to have experienced since the night previous to my receiving the Subdeaconship. I am determined, however, to suffer the will of God to have its course and earnestly hope that, if my exaltation contribute not to the sanctification of God's name and the coming of His kingdom, He will by some means or other prevent its taking place."*

—REV. PATRICK KELLY, FIRST BISHOP-ELECT OF RICHMOND.<sup>1</sup>

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## I

ON July 11, 1820, His Holiness, Pope Pius VII, authorized the bull which erected the state of Virginia into a diocese with its see at Richmond. Rev. Patrick Kelly, the President of Saint John's Seminary, Birchfield, County Kilkenny, Ireland, was named its first bishop. When Virginia had been an English colony, the Catholic inhabitants had been under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Vicars-Apostolic of London, and, after the winning of American independence, they had been under that of Father John Carroll, who for five years had served as Prefect-Apostolic of the Church in the new republic and then, in 1789, had become the first

bishop, and, in 1808, the first archbishop, of Baltimore. Archbishop Carroll had died in December, 1815, and Virginia, an integral part of the archdiocese of Baltimore, had then come under the jurisdiction of Carroll's successors in that see. These had been the Most Reverend Leonard Neale, until June, 1817, and, after that date, the Most Reverend Ambrose Maréchal.<sup>2</sup>

Patrick Kelly, Richmond's first bishop, was about forty years of age at the time of his elevation to the episcopal dignity. A man of great learning and a forceful speaker, he had been educated in the Irish College at Lisbon and is said to have taught theology at Rome. When he had been an humble curate, his charity endeared him to the poor.<sup>3</sup> Saint James's Chapel, Dublin, was the scene of his consecration on August 12, 1820.<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Troy of that See was consecrator and was assisted by Bishops Marum and Murray.<sup>5</sup> "I felt much satisfaction after the ceremony," very humanly wrote the new bishop to a friend, "because I went through it far better than I expected."<sup>6</sup> He still faced a multitude of ordeals.

The state in which his diocese was located was not an ideal garden for the growth of the Church. Virginia, in 1820, boasted a total population of 1,063,386 persons, of whom 462,042, over two-fifths, were Negroes.<sup>7</sup> This population was widely scattered for the state was thoroughly bound to an agrarian economy. Its agriculture was devoted in large measure to the production of tobacco and peanuts, great staple crops for world markets, but this was superimposed on a background of general farming. The greatest planters still attempted to raise such food as they and their dependents needed,

and there were a large number of farms where little if any of the staple crops were planted. Plain farmers abounded on their family-sized units, and they had few dealings, economic or other, with the world outside.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, about one-third of the adult white people of the Commonwealth were illiterate.<sup>9</sup>

Many Virginians were already despondent over the economic condition of their state. Charles J. Faulkner, a member of the legislature, was to say in 1832 that the original fertility of the land had given way to one that was "barren, desolate, and seared as it were by the avenging hand of heaven."<sup>10</sup> In that same year another legislator, Thomas Marshall, bemoaned the fact that "our towns are stationary, our villages almost everywhere declining."<sup>11</sup> From 1820 to 1840 Richmond did increase in population from 12,067 to 20,153, but this modest growth did not keep it from dropping from the twelfth to the twentieth place among American cities.<sup>12</sup> In addition to the capital, the principal towns of the Commonwealth were the seaports of Norfolk and Portsmouth and the river-port of Petersburg.<sup>13</sup>

Needless to say, the harshness of the penal legislation against Catholics in colonial days had not attracted to Virginia many adherents of the ancient Faith. In 1785 Father Carroll had reported to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide that "there are not more than 200 in Virginia who are visited four or five times a year by a priest."<sup>14</sup> These Catholics had lived mostly in the northern tier of counties just across the Potomac from Maryland and, although there are no authentic statistics for the number of Catholic immigrants coming into the United States prior to 1819, it can safely be



stated that Norfolk and Portsmouth attracted but a few, and Richmond and Petersburg even a smaller percentage, of these prospective citizens.<sup>15</sup>

The immediate problem facing the new bishop was a financial one. Father John Rice, O.S.A., had written from Rome to advise the young prelate to take with him three youthful clergymen to his Diocese. Bishop Kelly replied that he could lead forth with him "four times that number" were the means at hand to defray their expenses. "Any young man proposing to go with me will be opposed by his relatives" and therefore "no help can be drawn from those quarters."<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the bishop had not thought of how his own needs were to be supplied. "I am at present penniless and cannot reckon upon anything as my own to meet the expense of my voyage except what may result from the sale of my house and furniture. My friends, no doubt, are able to lend me what I'll want; but their aversion to my departure at all is such that I should like very much to be relieved from the necessity of applying to them."<sup>17</sup> In November, the Propaganda Fide furnished the bishop with a subsidy of one hundred Irish pounds which took care of his passage to America.<sup>18</sup> The good man landed in New York on December 29, 1820, and proceeded to Baltimore.<sup>19</sup>

The Sacred Congregation had warned Kelly that his would be a see of troubles.<sup>20</sup> At the same time that Virginia had been erected into a diocese, the Carolinas and Georgia had also been united into one with its see at Charleston. Archbishop Maréchal had protested vehemently against this wholesale dismemberment of his archdiocese. He was convinced that to maintain a

prelate in Virginia in a manner consonant with the dignity of high office would be impossible.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, he believed that Cardinal Fontana, prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, had permitted himself to be frightened into suggesting such a move to the Holy Father. The chimera of an independent and schismatic American church had been raised before the cardinal's eyes by malcontents at Charleston, Norfolk, Philadelphia, and New York. Grave problems arising from the administration of ecclesiastical property, racial and national antipathies, and questions of clerical discipline and lay cooperation had long disturbed the tranquillity of the Church in these cities. The dissatisfied groups were formidable in themselves and boded danger to the Church within their particular states, but the greatest danger lay in their possible formation of a coalition which would be opposed to acknowledging complete spiritual obedience to the American hierarchy of the time. Cardinal Fontana, as we shall see, had dealt directly with the Norfolk group, for whom Maréchal always entertained the most complete contempt. Therefore, Bishop Kelly was faced by a resentful metropolitan as well as by rebellious laity.

Indeed, upon his arrival at Baltimore, Richmond's first bishop was forced to listen to a statement read by his archbishop. This recounted Maréchal's constant protests to Propaganda against the turbulent men at Norfolk, and concluded thus:

Although it would be entirely lawful for us to oppose the erection of the said see, whether we consider the wicked means by which it was obtained, or the scandals and calamities of

every kind, which will undoubtedly be the result; yet fearing that the said enemies of Christ will take occasion even from our most justly founded opposition, to inflict the most serious injury on the Catholic religion, your Lordship may, as you judge best, proceed or not to take possession of the new see and diocese of Virginia according to the tenor of the Bulls transmitted to you. But to assure the tranquillity of our conscience we hereby distinctly declare to your Lordship, that we in no wise give or yield our assent positively to this most unfortunate action of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. If you carry it out, we are to be held free before God and the Church now and hereafter from all the evils and scandals which the Catholic religion suffers or may suffer from it in these United States.<sup>22</sup>

With these ominous words resounding in his ears, Rt. Rev. Patrick Kelly departed for Norfolk on January 18, 1821, and arrived at that port on the following day.<sup>23</sup>

## II

In order to understand fully the attitude of Archbishop Maréchal and to appreciate the peculiarly delicate situation with which Bishop Kelly was confronted in his newly created diocese, it is now necessary to summarize briefly down to the time of the bishop's arrival the somewhat confused and thoroughly sad story of the Church in Norfolk, the city which Cardinal Fontana had counselled Kelly to make his temporary headquarters.<sup>24</sup>

Probably as early as 1795 Bishop John Carroll had a resident priest, Father James Bushe, in Norfolk, and, in 1803, Father Bushe had been replaced by Father

Michael Lacy, who had completed a church building.<sup>25</sup> A curious development from the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Virginia and one which was to bring the struggling congregation of Norfolk almost to disaster was a provision in the Virginia State Constitution which absolutely prohibited the grant of any "charter of incorporation . . . to any church or religious denomination."<sup>26</sup> Church associations were thereby forced to hold their property by the trustee system. In May, 1804, a set of rules for the administration of the church of Norfolk had been adopted at a meeting of lay trustees. These rules had carefully enumerated the duties of the parochial priest, all of which were to be of a spiritual nature, and then had stipulated that the priest should "represent to the *Council of Trustees* whatever he may deem as necessarily wanted in the *Chapel*, either for the *service of the Altar* or for the administration of the *Sacraments*."<sup>27</sup> Such financial control by lay trustees could easily have led to a situation in which laymen might effectually control the length of tenure and even the actual appointment of their pastors. Fortunately, during the pastorate of Father Lacy, which had lasted until 1815, there had been no unpleasantness between the priest and trustees. This happy state of affairs had been largely attributable to the fact that the trustees themselves had appointed Father Lacy president of their board.<sup>28</sup> The Irish priest had known how to deal with his parishioners who, according to a list of pew-holders dated January 2, 1809, were overwhelmingly of Hibernian origin.<sup>29</sup> The income which the trustees had granted to Father Lacy could not have been lavish for the reverend gentleman



is known to have supplemented it by giving lessons in the French language to a number of pupils, most of whom had been children of families who had escaped from the horrors of the Negro insurrection on Santo Domingo.<sup>30</sup> The priest's spiritual duties had not been confined to Norfolk for, on alternate Sundays, he would cross the Elizabeth River to Portsmouth, there to offer Mass in the rented lower floor of a two-story house on Middle Street, the upper story of which was a Masonic lodge room; later, a small, brick church, dedicated to Saint Paul, had been made possible by a bequest from a Portsmouth baker of Irish birth.<sup>31</sup>

Following the death of Father Lacy, Archbishop Carroll had sent to Norfolk Dr. Matthew O'Brien, a Dominican priest of Irish extraction who had lived in New York since 1799 and who had there received into the Church Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, afterwards the foundress in this country of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul. Because of his extremely ill health, Father O'Brien had not remained at his post more than a few months, and Archbishop Carroll's own illness and demise had left the appointment of the new pastor to his successor, Archbishop Neale.<sup>32</sup>

Neale had chosen for Norfolk Rev. James Lucas, a Frenchman. In a letter to Father Lucas on April 19, 1816, the archbishop had clearly placed the control of the trustee problem in the pastor's hands. "In the primitive Church," Neale wrote, "Deacons were appointed to assist the Apostles in the administration of temporalities. Surely there are no Catholics to be found who would not condemn those Deacons had they

presumed an authority over the Apostles whom they were appointed to assist."<sup>33</sup> However, the trustees had refused to relinquish their charge of the revenue to Father Lucas. He had accordingly privately ousted them from office with the threat of public dismissal, whereupon they had appealed directly to the archbishop.<sup>34</sup> Neale had emphatically replied that he considered their kind of lay trusteeship "as calculated fully to produce confusion and schism in the congregation."<sup>35</sup>

The trustees' answer to the archbishop had been embodied in a printed pamphlet of forty-four pages, with a documentary appendix of forty-eight additional pages, which had been published in Norfolk in December, 1816. Entitled *Letter Addressed to the Most Reverend Leonard Neale, Archbishop of Baltimore, by a Member of the Roman Catholic Congregation of Norfolk in Virginia*, it ranks, according to the historian Guilday, as "one of the remarkable literary productions in American Catholic History."<sup>36</sup> The author of this essentially anti-Papal document was a Portuguese physician with a bizarre knowledge of canon law and of anti-clerical writers, Dr. J. F. Oliveira Fernandez, secretary to the board of trustees.<sup>37</sup> In brief, his *Letter* had argued for the supremacy of the state over the Church, the authority of the civil government to protect the temporal affairs of the Church from ecclesiastical interference, and the "indisputable right" of lay patrons to appoint or to dismiss pastors.<sup>38</sup> Father Lucas had promptly and publicly appointed a new board of trustees.<sup>39</sup>

On December the twenty-eighth, the ousted board had barred and bolted the doors and windows of the



church building and had locked a chain about the gate of the church yard, and they had eventually secured a court injunction against the use of the church by its legitimate pastor. Father Lucas had immediately turned a large room in his home into a chapel, in which he had said Mass and administered the Sacraments to those parishioners who were still faithful to their duly authorized spiritual leader.<sup>40</sup>

The citizens of Norfolk had then been subjected to a veritable inundation of literature. Fernandez had subtly appealed for non-Catholic sympathy by writing that the archbishop's views were "in full opposition and contrariety to our free Constitution and State laws."<sup>41</sup> At a meeting called by the rejected board on December the twenty-eighth, a resolution had been passed that "it being a fact that the prelates of the Church as well as the *pastors or any other clergyman or clergymen invested with ecclesiastical dignity have no other but spiritual authority* and by no means *upon the temporal concerns* of the Church, any order from the Most Rev. Archbishop either directly or indirectly through the Rev. James Lucas, is *null and void*."<sup>42</sup>

A deadlock had thus existed until June, 1817, when the trustees had appealed directly to the Holy Father. Their appeal had been couched in two documents, both written by Fernandez. The first of these had been a printed *Petition to the Holy See* which had set forth the claim of the trustees to the right of "patronage,"<sup>43</sup> the second had been an *Instructio* to John Donaghey and Jasper Moran, two rebellious trustees who had volunteered to go to Rome to present the *Petition*. At last, in these papers, the heart of the matter had been

exposed. The Irish Catholics of Norfolk wanted a priest of their own nation and they desired to see Virginia erected into a diocese under a bishop of Irish origin. They even nominated a particular man for this high post. He was Father Carbry, O.P., of the diocese of New York.<sup>44</sup> This Irish Dominican, like all his fellow countrymen of the day, was fiercely nationalistic. In one of his letters to Propaganda, he had stated that the majority of America's Catholics were of Irish origin and that they had built her churches and were supporting her priests. In spite of the many sacrifices of this group, Father Carbry had pointed out that the administration of the Church in the United States was in the hands of French clergy. French bishops had been placed over every see but one. Furthermore, on no point were the Irish so sensitive as on the exposition of their Faith from the pulpit. Divine service was robbed of all attraction for them when they heard Catholic doctrine expounded by French priests in a manner that amused Protestants and held up the Church to ridicule. Carbry had claimed that many priests in Ireland were willing to come to this country to devote themselves to poor congregations but that they were deterred by the fear that the bishops were almost all opposed to their nation.<sup>45</sup>

On June the fifth, Donaghey, unaccompanied by Moran, had sailed for Marseilles.<sup>46</sup> Thirteen days later, on June 18, 1817, Archbishop Neale had died and his successor was a French Sulpician, Ambrose Maréchal.

Cardinal Litta, at that time Prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, had formed a mistaken estimate of the Norfolk group from their *Petition* and

from the representations of Donaghey at the Vatican. He had even written to Fernandez to commend the latter on his zeal for the Catholic faith, and to agree with him that a pastor should be chosen from the national group which predominated in Norfolk at the time.<sup>47</sup> To Maréchal the Cardinal-Prefect had observed that the State of Virginia was "so far away" from Baltimore that he felt that it must be impossible for the archbishop to care for so "vast" an archdiocese, and that in his opinion the Catholics in Virginia should have their own episcopal see.<sup>48</sup> Ignorance of American geography was by no means rare at the Curia of this period. The belief actually obtained that Virginia was more distant from Maryland than was Mississippi.<sup>49</sup> This confusion was due to the difficulty of transportation and communication between the European and American continents at the time. Indeed, perhaps because of the large Italian personnel of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, the government of the American Church by that Congregation was attended by handicaps until 1908, when a Papal decree finally placed the Church in this country within the common law of the universal church, thereby removing it from mission status and from Propaganda's jurisdiction.

Such had been the condition of affairs when Archbishop Maréchal, accompanied by Father James Whitfield, had set out in March, 1818, upon a visitation of his "vast" archdiocese. On June the twelfth, he had the spiritual satisfaction of confirming some eighty persons at Norfolk who had been prepared for the sacrament by Father Lucas.<sup>50</sup> His presence in the city, however, had been the signal for the appearance of an inflammatory

pamphlet by Fernandez.<sup>51</sup> Before his departure, Archbishop Maréchal had forbidden Father Lucas to admit the rebellious former trustees to the Sacraments unless they would repent and repair the scandal which they had caused.<sup>52</sup> This action had only called forth a second pamphlet from the pen of Fernandez.<sup>53</sup> As the fact was well known that the Norfolk schismatics were urging Father Carbry to come from New York to minister to them, Maréchal wrote to Carbry and threatened him with excommunication should he accede to their request.<sup>54</sup>

In May, 1819, Archbishop Maréchal had attempted to break the deadlock in the Virginian situation by sending Father Nicholas Kerney, a young Irishman, to be pastor of little Saint Paul's Church, Portsmouth, and assistant to Father Lucas at Norfolk.<sup>55</sup> The news of Kerney's arrival in Virginia had immediately been dispatched by the schismatics to Father Carby in New York. The Dominican, in spite of having been expressly forbidden to exercise his priestly faculties in the Archdiocese of Baltimore, had at once set sail for Norfolk, where he had appeared in June. His presence in Norfolk had given courage to the rebels, who had at once declared their independence of the spiritual authority of the Archbishop of Baltimore.<sup>56</sup> When Maréchal had asked Carbry by what authority he was ministering in Norfolk, the latter had replied that no authority was needed in the independent United States, but only in Europe where Catholics were living under Tyrants.<sup>57</sup>

Then, on June the twenty-sixth, Cardinal Fontana, the new Prefect of Propaganda, had written to Maré-



chal that he had decided upon the erection of sees for the Carolinas and Georgia and for Virginia, and that he had no doubt but that this measure would bring peace to the distracted Church of these Southern states.<sup>58</sup>

The cardinal was later to admit that the Sacred Congregation had made a mistake in erecting the See of Richmond. It had been an action done in the Prefect's name by Cardinal della Sinaglia while Cardinal Fontana had been absent from Rome due to an illness which had kept him at Naples.<sup>59</sup>

Such then was the deplorable state of affairs which Bishop Patrick Kelly found within his diocese when he set foot in Norfolk on January 19, 1821.

### III

Bishop Kelly, already imbued with the prejudices against Archbishop Maréchal which had been so studiously developed by Donaghey at Rome, had undoubtedly been further alienated from his metropolitan by the cool, if not hostile, reception which he had just been accorded at Baltimore. Furthermore, as a former resident of Lisbon, he must have had many points of contact with the Portuguese Fernandez, whose clever arguments would not have been calculated to raise Father Lucas in the prelate's opinion. In any event, after taking possession of the original church at Norfolk, the bishop refused to permit Father Lucas to continue in the exercise of his priestly faculties and specifically granted such permission to the eccentric Father Carberry.<sup>60</sup> This, of course, caused great bewilderment among those Catholics who had remained steadfastly loyal to their rightful pastor.<sup>61</sup>

Father Lucas would have gone immediately to Baltimore but for the fact that he was under contract with the scholars of his little school who had paid their tuition fees up to June. As the end of that month approached, the faithful Catholics of Father Lucas' congregation drafted a *Memorial*, which was signed by eighty persons and presented to the bishop.<sup>62</sup> This paper remarked upon the exact rectitude of Lucas' personal conduct, his "piety, disinterestedness, and zeal," and asked that his suspension be rescinded and that he be allowed to officiate in the "brick Church" as "honorary assistant."<sup>63</sup> The bishop replied to Mr. Magagnos, author of the *Memorial*, that the memorialists were demanding the reinstatement of Father Lucas "as an act of justice" which was "not at all concerned in the business," and that they were threatening their bishop with "temporal inconvenience" in the event that he refused to impart a share of spiritual authority to the priest. "Now, Sir," wrote Kelly, "however warmly I may admire your feelings of private friendship towards that Rev. Gentleman and how strong soever his claims to them may be, I must ever regret that they have borne you such lengths as to interfere with the freedom and purity of the exercise of the Episcopal office."<sup>64</sup>

Mr. Magagnos, in the name of the committee of four who were acting for Father Lucas' congregation, hastened to assure the bishop that they had never meant to express a "menace," nor to require that the prelate cede to Lucas a share of spiritual authority in such a manner as to cause him "any loss or diminution thereof." They had too much respect for the canons of the Church to have recourse to an interference "in



the least degree contrary to them," but they knew of no law violated by the presentation of a petition in order to obtain a favor which they regarded as most conducive to their spiritual welfare. Finally, the bishop was again besought to restore Father Lucas his "spiritual powers" and to permit him to officiate in the Church.<sup>65</sup>

Bishop Kelly answered that the original *Memorial*, stripped of its "formal appendages," appeared to amount to the "Simoniactal proposal" that should Mr. Lucas be given canonical approbation, the revenue of the church would be benefited, and that their second communication, similarly stripped, amounted to a demand that the priest be given such approbation as his just desert. "Now, sir," continued the bishop, "though God will, no doubt, suitably reward the Obedience and worth of the Rev. Mr. L., yet canonical approbation is no more the object of merit than it is of Simoniactal traffic. The powers of imparting it Ecclesiastical Superiors receive gratuitously and ought gratuitously exercise." Upon the copy of this communication from the bishop which Father Lucas dispatched to Archbishop Maréchal, the priest wrote: "Do not believe that this is not an exact copy of Dr. Kelly's letter. Walter Lacy copied it most attentively and I sent it again to be compared with the original. Every note of punctuation is strictly copied. I shall make no comment. Such writing speaks for itself. But the faithful can scarcely believe their eyes."<sup>66</sup>

The final letter from the memorialists to Bishop Kelly, dated June 27, 1821, was, as Monsignor Guilday has said, a "gallant but fruitless attempt to save their

pastor from expulsion.”<sup>67</sup> “We are not ignorant of the meaning of the word simony,” they declared; “we detest and abhor the crime and cannot conceive how you can impute to us any intention of committing it. We sincerely lament your determination to insult us, wound our feelings and injure our character; and in the deep sorrow of our hearts caused by such an example, and by the loss of every hope of justice or favor from you, we confidently throw ourselves in the bosom of a just God, casting our Solicitude upon Him, and fervently beseeching Him to enlighten you for the Good of Religion, and to grant you a long life.”<sup>68</sup> After he left Norfolk Father Lucas was stationed by the archbishop in the District of Columbia, and, in 1825, he entered the Society of Jesus.<sup>69</sup>

In the meanwhile, as might have been expected from the intractable character of the trustees united to the peculiar temperament of Father Carbry, a quarrel had broken out in May between the board, under the leadership of the Dominican, and the new bishop.<sup>70</sup> The misguided Carbry, in full revolt, closed the door of the Church against the bishop, and the struggle between his party and that of Kelly to secure possession of the edifice became so violent at one point that the civil authorities intervened and arrested twenty-one persons.<sup>71</sup> Eventually Father Carbry left Norfolk and betook himself to North Carolina.<sup>72</sup>

Father Kerney, the young curate of Norfolk and pastor of Portsmouth, although he had been requested by the bishop to remain at his post, was also anxious to depart. “Ecclesiastical affairs,” wrote the youthful priest to Archbishop Maréchal, “are far from being

in a prosperous situation. There is more dissatisfaction among the Catholics [*sic*] at present than have been at any period since I came hither."<sup>73</sup> Indeed, the situation at Portsmouth was almost an exact reflection of that in the larger city across the river. Before Father Kerney had taken charge there, little Saint Paul's Church had been scarcely more prepossessing than a stable. Sometime in 1819 or 1820 a United States naval gunner named Marshall had ordered a door and windows put in at his own expense.<sup>74</sup> Contributions from the small congregation had been far from liberal "Hitherto," Father Kerney had written in 1819, "with the exception of a few, they have not given as much as it would cost them to cross the ferry every Sunday."<sup>75</sup> In June, 1820, the discouraged pastor had been mortified to report to Archbishop Maréchal that "the greater number" of his congregation had not fulfilled their Easter duty. He had felt that this was due to "the prevalence of dissipation and intemperance . . . a vice very common in Portsmouth amongst the hands employed in the publick [*sic*] works."<sup>76</sup> During the height of the trustees' revolt in Norfolk, the excitement had spread to Portsmouth to such an extent that Commodore Castles, the Catholic commander of the Navy Yard, had judged it expedient to station a squadron of marines about the church for the protection of the wretched building.<sup>77</sup>

Bishop Kelly was cheered during that summer of 1821 by a visit from Bishop England of Charleston, who remained at Norfolk from the thirtieth of June until the eighth of July.<sup>78</sup> The two bishops exchanged with each other the faculties of Vicar-General in their

respective dioceses.<sup>79</sup> England's diagnosis of the situation in Norfolk was far-sighted. He urged upon Archbishop Maréchal the necessity of a Provincial Council which would lead to "the union and cooperation of the Bishops of these disturbed States."<sup>80</sup>

Even had the Catholics of Norfolk and Portsmouth been an harmonious group, which they obviously were not, they would still not have been in the financial position to extend proper economic support to a high dignitary of the Church. Bishop Kelly, in order to meet living expenses, was forced to open a school,<sup>81</sup> and at no time was he enabled to journey so far inland as Richmond, his nominal see.<sup>82</sup>

As we shall now learn, the Church of the capital city and in the rest of the diocese was hampered by a poverty scarcely less austere than that which was its unhappy lot in the Tidewater area.

#### IV

Richmond had succeeded Williamsburg as the capital of Virginia in 1779.<sup>83</sup> Twelve years later, in 1791, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass had been offered there for the first time.<sup>84</sup> The celebrant had been the Abbé Jean Dubois, an émigré from the French Revolution's "Reign of Terror," who had landed at Norfolk in July, 1791, and had offered Mass in that city, probably the first celebration of the Holy Sacrifice in Tidewater Virginia after the Declaration of Independence, with the exception of the Masses offered in the French camps and aboard the French ships during the military campaign of 1781.<sup>85</sup>



The Abbé had possessed letters of introduction from the Marquis de Lafayette to James Monroe, members of the Randolph and Lee families, and to other Virginians of the first social rank, and these he had brought with him to Richmond where he had remained during the winter of 1791-92.<sup>86</sup> At the time of his arrival, the General Assembly had been in session in the newly-completed Capitol, and the French priest, probably because of his impressive letters of introduction, had been invited to celebrate Mass in the hall of the House of Delegates.<sup>87</sup> There was no church building of any kind in Richmond at that time, with the exception of old Saint John's Protestant Episcopal Church made famous by the "Liberty or Death" speech of Patrick Henry. Two prominent Protestant clergymen had also been forced to have recourse to the legislative hall, the only place in the city sufficiently spacious to be used as a place of worship. These had been the Episcopal "Parson Buchanan" and the Presbyterian "Parson Blair," who, on alternate Sundays, had occupied a movable pulpit which had disappeared on week days. With the Abbé Dubois these gentlemen had been on cordial terms, and the priest frequently had administered the Sacraments of the Church in the court-room on the opposite side of the building from the chamber in which one of his Protestant friends was preaching.<sup>88</sup>

During his stay at Richmond, the Abbé had supported himself by giving lessons in his native tongue, and had himself been instructed in the English language by that great master of oratory, Patrick Henry.<sup>89</sup> The priest's French class had been in Mr. Harris' School, a small private institution, but he had also

taught a few scholars individually. When he had left Richmond, he had been given a farewell supper by a fellow teacher, Mr. Dunn, which affair had been attended by "Parsons" Buchanan and Blair.<sup>90</sup> The subsequent career of this priest who had offered Richmond's first Mass is of great interest: in 1808, he founded Mount Saint Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Maryland, and, in 1826, he was created the third Bishop of New York.<sup>91</sup>

One of the Alien and Sedition Acts passed by the Federal Congress in 1798 during the administration of President John Adams had required all aliens living within the United States to be registered. The first individual in Richmond who had complied with this law had been a Catholic priest of French nationality, Rev. T. C. Mongrant.<sup>92</sup> On December 18, 1798, he had given his age as fifty-four, the town of his birth as Tonnay, and his place of residence at the time of registration, as "Shillelah," the country seat of a Colonel Heath near Richmond.<sup>93</sup>

Father Mongrant must have been succeeded by Father Xavier Michel, also a French priest, who is known to have been sent to Virginia's capital city in 1811 by Archbishop Carroll.<sup>94</sup> Having no church building, this former canon of Toulouse had officiated at Mass and dispensed the Sacraments either in private homes or in rooms which he had temporarily rented.<sup>95</sup> In 1813, Father Michel had gone to Georgetown College to enter the Society of Jesus,<sup>96</sup> and the following year he had returned to Europe from whence he eventually proceeded to the missions of China.<sup>97</sup> The Catholics of Richmond had thereupon requested the



Archbishop of Baltimore to send to them a priest who "on account of local circumstances," was "acquainted not only with the English, but also, with the French, language," and had guaranteed for him an annual salary of eight hundred dollars.<sup>98</sup> This petition, however, had not been granted.

From 1813 to 1819 there is no record of any one priest's having been in Richmond, although visiting clerics had probably said Mass there with relative frequency.<sup>99</sup>

Since 1812, the Presbyterian congregation of Rev. John Holt Rice had been worshipping in an edifice which they had erected at Main and Twenty-seventh Streets, in the unfashionable section then called "Rocketts." In 1815, this congregation had resolved to build in another location and their small chapel, after a short period of incorporation into a tobacco factory, had been leased by the local Catholics.<sup>100</sup> In those days Richmond, situated at the highest navigable point on the James, was a thriving port, and, due to the fact that large bodies of foreign sailors sometimes appeared at the Catholic chapel, the building earned the name of "The Sailors' Church."<sup>101</sup>

In 1818, Mr. Joseph Gallego, a native of Malaga, Spain, and a member of the small Catholic congregation of Richmond, had left one thousand dollars toward the support of the chapel,<sup>102</sup> and had devised to its trustees one half of the square on Marshall Street between Third and Fourth Streets.<sup>103</sup> Gallego was the founder of the Gallego Mills that for over a century bore his name and for many years were among the largest and best known flour mills in the world.<sup>104</sup>

Though very rich, he was said to have been "unassuming and unostentatious in his manners."<sup>105</sup> Unfortunately, his gift to his co-religionists was eventually declared null and void by the courts, as the Constitution of the Commonwealth forbade either a testamentary bequest of money or devise of land to a congregation or parish of any religious body.<sup>106</sup>

Throughout the year 1819, Father Roger Baxter, S.J., of Georgetown College, had regularly celebrated Mass at the Chapel,<sup>107</sup> and during 1820 and up to the fall of 1821, a Father John Mahoney had been stationed in Richmond as pastor.<sup>108</sup> Father Mahoney had therefore, been the priest in charge when Bishop Kelly had arrived in the state. Father Carbry had said Mass in Richmond on Sunday, December 19, 1819, and had displayed the temerity to call upon Mr. Gallego's executor to inquire about the legacy left to the church, but had received no satisfaction.<sup>109</sup> Acting upon the instructions from Archbishop Maréchal, Father Kerney had visited the capital city between the eighteenth and twenty-fifth of January, 1820, and had learned that Carbry had attempted, but with no success, to persuade the faithful there to join the Tidewater schismatics. The Dominican had boasted that the Norfolk and Petersburg congregations had elected him "Bishop of Virginia," and had promised to dwell in Richmond if similarly elected there.<sup>110</sup>

Bishop Kelly sent to his titular city a fellow Irishman, Father James Walsh, who found the Rocketts church much too large for his congregation. He therefore rented for a chapel a room on the ground floor of the Southgate Building, which stood on the eastern side of

Eleventh Street, between Broad and Capitol Streets, a site at present occupied by a section of the Virginia State Library. Its small and rude organ was the first instrumental aid to church service known by the Catholics in Richmond.<sup>111</sup> Such was Bishop Kelly's pro-cathedral!

During the episcopate of Richmond's first bishop the only other organized congregations were at Petersburg, Winchester, Martinsburg, Harper's Ferry, and Wheeling.<sup>112</sup> The humble state of these will now be considered.

## V

Twenty-one miles southward from Richmond, on the banks of the Appomattox, not far above City Point where that stream flows into the James, lies Petersburg. In the early years of the nineteenth century, a thriving river port,<sup>113</sup> this town had developed from an original settlement made in 1645,<sup>114</sup> and was in age, greater, and in pride, equal, to the capital city.

In the year 1820 there were at least sixty-five Catholics residing in this already old community, for that many signatures were appended to a petition presented to Archbishop Maréchal calling for the appointment of a pastor. The names are mostly Irish, and as the specific priest requested was a resident of Limerick, even the provincial origin of Petersburg's first Catholics can fairly well be determined.<sup>115</sup> Their request could not be granted, although Mass was offered in the town for the first time in 1820 in a room at the corner of Short Market and High Streets, and the organization of the local congregation is dated from that year.<sup>116</sup>

Father Kerney visited Petersburg for one day on January 26, 1820, following his stay in Richmond, but he recorded that he did not find any place to say Mass. He found that the Petersburgers knew nothing of their supposed election of Father Carbry to be bishop.<sup>117</sup> Since there was no resident priest, Petersburg, during Bishop Kelly's episcopate, can only be considered as having been in all probability a mission post of Richmond attended by Father James Walsh.

The surface of Virginia and modern West Virginia is divided into two inclined planes and a centrally located valley. The eastern plane is subdivided into the Tidewater, the Piedmont and the Blue Ridge Mountains; the western into the Alleghany Highlands, the Cumberland Plateau, and the Ohio Valley section. The area between the planes is ordinarily spoken of as the "Valley of Virginia." This valley is a depressed surface some hundred feet below the summit of the Blue Ridge on one side and the Alleghanies on the other. Here was settled by the middle of the eighteenth century a society fundamentally different from the older one in the Tidewater and Piedmont regions, a society composed of the owners of small farms as contrasted with the owners of large estates, and of various national origins as contrasted with a group almost homogeneously English.<sup>118</sup>

In the latter years of the eighteenth century, debt-oppressed members and younger sons of prominent Tidewater families had begun to take up residence on the margin of the Shenandoah River in this beautiful Valley. These so-called "Tuckahoes" had been drawn particularly to the lower valley, for their families



had owned land in that region from the year it had first been opened to settlement. The result was that the aristocrats of the Valley were to be found concentrated in a compact group, a situation unlike that in eastern Virginia where they were scattered over many counties. The "Millwood neighborhood" in the present Clarke county had become the stronghold of the great planters: the Wormeleys, Pages, Whitings, Byrds, Nelsons, Burwells, Washingtons, and Throckmortons. The town of Winchester, close to this Millwood society, had inevitably become the Williamsburg of the new Virginia.<sup>119</sup>

Thomas K. Cartmell, in his *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, states that there was a Catholic church in Winchester prior to 1800, giving as his authority for this assertion the verbal testimony of old Catholic residents of the town. He describes the edifice as having been located at the east end of Piccadilly Street, north of the old Presbyterian church.<sup>120</sup> However, John Gilmary Shea writes that Father Zocchi, who in 1805 had succeeded the Russian missionary of noble birth, Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, in serving the wide area between Cumberland to the west and Winchester to the south, together with central Maryland, worked zealously erecting several churches, among them that at Winchester.<sup>121</sup> The most recent historian of Catholicism's development in that city accordingly believes that the first church, a stone building which was used until 1864 on the site mentioned by Cartmell, dated from about 1807.<sup>122</sup> The ground upon which it was built had been given by a leading citizen, Major Edward McGuire, and the cost of construction

had been met almost entirely by a wealthy person of French birth.<sup>123</sup> This individual had undoubtedly been John Holker, a former consul-general of France, who had settled and died at Winchester.<sup>124</sup>

Among the pioneer Catholic residents of the town had been Colonel Patrick Denver, a native of Ireland's County Down, who had participated in an uprising in that country in 1798, following which he had emigrated to Virginia and established himself as a farmer in the valley. He had reached the age of eighty-five when his death occurred in 1831.<sup>125</sup> His grandson, Brigadier General James Denver, who was born in Winchester in 1817, served as governor of the Territory of Kansas between May and October, 1858, and restored law and order to that then distracted section. He was twice mentioned for the Democratic presidential nomination, and the city of Denver, Colorado, is named in his honor.<sup>126</sup>

By 1820, as we shall see, there had been a congregation at nearby Martinsburg, where there were about fifty Catholic families, and for some while after that date, according to the historian of the Winchester church, the priests who served Martinsburg had said Mass, not only in that place, but also at Winchester, Shepherdstown, and Bath.<sup>127</sup> In 1822, as the episcopate of Bishop Kelly drew to its close, Winchester at last had a resident priest of its own,<sup>128</sup> but the length of his stay and even his name are unknown. He probably remained but a short while, for one historian of Winchester tells us that from soon after 1822 until 1861 the old stone church was seldom used.<sup>129</sup>



While Winchester, under the administration of Bishop Kelly, was thus briefly serving as the central point of the Church in the western part of the state, the country people often walked to the town in darkness, starting from their homes with lanterns as early as midnight, even in the severe cold of winter and in the face of heavy storms, to assist at dawn at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, to make their confessions, and to receive their Lord in Holy Communion. They came from Front Royal, twenty-one miles distant, Strasburg, twenty miles distant, Cedar Creek, eighteen miles distant, Berryville, eleven miles distant, and Middletown, fourteen miles distant.<sup>130</sup> What a joyful procession they must have made, with flickering lanterns rather than blessed candles, and with awakening shouts to their Catholic neighbors, rather than the liturgical paeans of gladness! This was as magnificent a demonstration of a sublime faith as any gorgeous procession that ever moved down the great nave of Chartres or Cologne!

About the year 1811 a few Catholic families had moved to Martinsburg from Frederick, Hagerstown, and Baltimore in Maryland, and several applications had been made to Archbishop Carroll for a priest. In 1812 Father Cahill had offered Mass for the first time in the town at a house which was situated on West Race Street,<sup>131</sup> and after his visit, Martinsburg had been a mission of Frederick.<sup>132</sup> During this period Mass had frequently been said at the home of a Mr. John Timmons.<sup>133</sup>

Eventually, the Catholics of Martinsburg had purchased a small tract of land to be used in part as their cemetery and in part as the site for a future church.<sup>134</sup>

The date of the completion of this edifice is in dispute. McManus, the nineteenth century chronicler of the church at Martinsburg, names the spring of 1813 or 1814, and says that the parishioners took turns carrying stones and mortar for the structure.<sup>135</sup> Cartmell, the Valley historian, would seem to agree with this, for he says that by 1820 there was a "chapel room" in Martinsburg in which a Father Redmond was officiating.<sup>136</sup> However, the usually reliable Father Magri places the date of erection after the coming of the Rev. John B. Gildea to Martinsburg as its first resident pastor,<sup>137</sup> and two nineteenth century Valley writers give the date as 1830 and the cost of construction as four thousand dollars.<sup>138</sup> All seem to agree that the work was largely that of Father Gildea, who also built Saint Peter's Church at Harper's Ferry, and the Church of Saint Vincent de Paul in Baltimore.

Father Magri informs us that the earliest priest who labored in scenic Harper's Ferry was the Abbé Dubois, who, he says, had been present there as a missionary in the summer of 1791 just after he had arrived from France and before he had appeared in Richmond.<sup>139</sup> He had worked there again, Father Magri continues, in the following summer after he had spent the intervening winter in the state's capital city.<sup>140</sup> By 1794, he is known to have been located in Frederick, Maryland.<sup>141</sup>

In 1794, Prince Gallitzin had probably visited Harper's Ferry and performed his priestly functions there, and from that date down to the beginning of Father Gildea's pastorate at Martinsburg, the Catholics of the town had relied entirely for spiritual assistance upon priests from Maryland.<sup>142</sup>

Of all the pitiful congregations in Bishop Kelly's infant diocese, that of far-away Wheeling was the most flourishing. The work on the great Cumberland Road had brought many Irish Catholic laborers to that town, and Richmond's first bishop authorized Father Maguire of Pittsburgh to erect a place of worship there. This brick church in Gothic style was the most imposing Catholic edifice on the Old Dominion's soil, and it formed a point of attraction for settlers of the old Faith.<sup>143</sup>

During the time of Bishop Kelly, then, the western towns of the diocese, with the exception of Wheeling and Martinsburg, where there were organized Catholic groups were merely mission posts of priests sent from the archdiocese of Baltimore, and Petersburg also was but a mission post of its slightly younger sister city, Richmond.

## VI

On October 14, 1821, Archbishop Maréchal sailed from New York for France. His Grace had important business to settle in person at Rome. Not only was the Virginian question a pressing one, but there had long been a controversy with the Jesuits over certain property holdings in the archdiocese of Baltimore.<sup>144</sup> Maréchal was now determined to plead in person at the Vatican his side of the story.

As a matter of fact, Propaganda had already reached a decision with regard to Virginia. On October the third, Cardinal Fontana had written to Dr. Connolly, Vicar-General of Waterford, Ireland, recommending the person of Bishop Patrick Kelly in place of the recently

deceased Bishop Robert Walsh of the united sees of Waterford and Lismore.<sup>145</sup> Two days later, the cardinal had written to Maréchal a letter to acquaint him with the Sacred Congregation's determination to transfer Kelly to an Irish diocese, but the archbishop had sailed before he had received the message.<sup>146</sup> When he reached Rome, Maréchal secured a promise that the diocese of Richmond should be placed under his care as administrator as soon as the transfer of Bishop Kelly could be made effective.<sup>147</sup> This was accomplished by a special decree of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide on January 28, 1822, which received Papal sanction on February the third.<sup>148</sup> On February the twenty-second, the Bull appointing the Archbishop of Baltimore Administrator of the Richmond Diocese was issued.<sup>149</sup> In the following June, Bishop Kelly left for Ireland, accompanied by Father James Walsh, who had served the Richmond, and Petersburg congregations.<sup>150</sup>

In spite of the lamentable state of his diocese, Rt. Rev. Patrick Kelly had given every evidence of zeal for the flock entrusted to his care. A glimpse of Bishop Kelly in the role of the good shepherd may be found in this passage from one of his letters to Maréchal: "The public prints will have already informed your Grace of the trial and conviction in this neighborhood of two unhappy Spaniards for the wilful murder of an associate of theirs! Sentence of death to be carried into effect on the 1st of June having been passed on them Monday last, I deemed it my duty to wait on them the day following and to offer them those helps religion affords men in their awful situation."<sup>151</sup>

At one time Bishop Kelly had even risen to heroic stature. This had been during the summer of 1821, when Norfolk had been plagued with yellow fever, the perennial nineteenth-century bane of America's coastal cities. Bishop England tells us that his fellow-bishop was "constant in his attendance upon the sick, and during months, was every day among the afflicted, solacing, cheering, instructing, and administrating [*sic*] Sacraments to the diseased."<sup>152</sup>

His deception in Norfolk in the case of Father Carbry and of those persons who had clamored so long and so loudly for a separate diocese with a bishop of their own national origin had been a cruel blow to the prelate who honestly believed that he had acted for the best interests of religion in Virginia in refusing faculties to Father Lucas. That Bishop Kelly did not accomplish more is due to no fault of his own, but to the peculiar situation with which he coped.

The final incident of his episcopate was the good bishop's calling together just prior to his departure all the Catholic children of Tidewater Virginia over eight or nine years of age in order to confer upon them the Sacrament of Confirmation.<sup>153</sup>



CHAPTER II

# Nineteen Years Without a Bishop

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*"It is not the intention of the writer to pass judgment upon others; but he thinks that amongst other mistakes, the opposition to the separate administration of the latter diocese (Richmond), by causing its Bishop to return to Ireland as soon as he could obtain permission from the Holy See, has been by no means favorable to the maintenance of religion in the State of Virginia."*

—JOHN ENGLAND, FIRST BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.<sup>1</sup>

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## I

AMBROSE MARÉCHAL, third Archbishop of Baltimore and first Administrator of the Diocese of Richmond, died on January 29, 1828.<sup>2</sup> Only twenty-one days previously, the Holy See had appointed Rev. James Whitfield to be titular Bishop of Apollonia and coadjutor to Maréchal with the right of succession.<sup>3</sup> Following his predecessor's demise, Whitfield on Whitsunday, May 25, 1828, was consecrated bishop at Baltimore.<sup>4</sup>

Archbishop Whitfield constantly endeavored to have the Vatican suppress the vacant See of Richmond, of which he was administrator, and to have that diocese once again integrated into the Archdiocese of Baltimore.<sup>5</sup> A majority of the votes of the Second Provincial

Council which was summoned by Whitfield to convene at his cathedral city in 1833 recommended this measure to the Sovereign Pontiff, but Rome did not share the opinion of the American clergy,<sup>6</sup> and Whitfield died soon afterward, on October 19, 1834, his object unachieved.<sup>7</sup>

His successor, Archbishop Samuel Eccleston, asked at the Third Provincial Council in 1837 that Richmond be restored to the American hierarchy, and this suggestion met with the approval of the Holy See.<sup>8</sup> Father Richard Vincent Whelan was chosen to be the second Bishop of Richmond and was consecrated in the Cathedral at Baltimore on March 21, 1841.<sup>9</sup>

Attention is now turned to the story of the Church in Virginia between Bishop Kelly's departure in 1822 and Bishop Whelan's arrival in 1841, a span of nineteen years during which the See of Richmond had no occupant. We will begin with the city of Richmond itself which, in 1824, was described by its Catholic inhabitants to Archbishop Maréchal as "the emporium of this opulent State."<sup>10</sup>

## II

Father James Walsh, who had been pastor at Richmond under Bishop Kelly, returned with that prelate to his native country in 1822, and for a while the congregation in the capital city was indebted for spiritual ministrations to the visits of Jesuits from Georgetown or of priests stationed at Baltimore or Norfolk.<sup>11</sup>

Of these the best remembered is Dr. Samuel Cooper who was described by Judge Anthony M. Keiley as "one of the most eloquent preachers ever heard in

Richmond.”<sup>12</sup> This native of Norfolk and former sailor had embraced Catholicism during a spell of illness in Paris, and had been ordained to the priesthood after attending Saint Mary’s Seminary at Baltimore.<sup>13</sup> He is known to have said Mass and to have preached in Richmond in 1823 and again in 1827, and “on both occasions,” wrote Judge Keiley, did he create “a profound interest in Catholicity.”<sup>14</sup>

A French-speaking priest, Father Carillo, who had been ordained in 1818 at Bardstown, Kentucky, in which diocese he had exercised the sacred ministry for four years,<sup>15</sup> was stationed by Archbishop Maréchal at Richmond toward the end of the year 1823. On the thirty-first of November of that year, he wrote to the Archbishop that there were scarcely a hundred Catholics in the city, among whom there were but a few who were of French origin and that of those not more than three families could be called religious, that he was able to say Mass only on Sundays because of the lack of candles and of sacramental wine, that then he was forced to offer the sublime Sacrifice in a warehouse, and that he could not meet his living expenses more than one month.<sup>16</sup> He had departed from his mission by the following June, for in that month the Catholics of the city were petitioning Maréchal for a resident pastor. Their petition promised the erection of a church upon receipt of the anticipated funds from the Gallego estate, still in litigation, and questioned why Norfolk should have two priests while Richmond and Petersburg had none. “From its favorable situation,” wrote the petitioners, Richmond “must in time become a city of the first class, while the towns of the lower country

must sink to comparative insignificance.”<sup>17</sup> They pointed out that “as the Metropolis, it will give tone and direction to public Sentiments—the members of the Assembly who reside here a considerable portion of the year will have an opportunity of hearing the benign doctrines of our holy faith expounded by an accomplished preacher. They will return to their homes divested of the prejudices which they imbibed with their Mothers’ Milk, and they will tell their constituents that Catholicks [*sic*] are not such monsters as they are represented. This then, “they concluded,” is the time to plant the Cross in this city for by doing so we shall grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength.”<sup>18</sup>

Probably in response to this eloquent plea the Archbishop dispatched to Richmond that same year an Irish priest, Rev. Thomas Hore, a native of County Wexford who had previously been stationed at Norfolk.<sup>19</sup> Father Hore rented a room on the east side of Fourteenth Street in which to say Mass on Sundays.<sup>20</sup> In the same room he conducted a classical school for boys,<sup>21</sup> but this, the first Catholic school in the city, was not long-lived as the Catholic population was too sparse.<sup>22</sup> As soon, however, as he had gathered his little congregation together, the zealous priest told them of his purpose to build a small chapel, however humble.<sup>23</sup>

Father Hore took possession of the half square of land between Third and Fourth Streets on the south side of Marshall, which had been bequeathed by Joseph Gallego as the site for a Catholic chapel, and here he built a small wooden edifice which, dedicated in 1825, was the first building erected in Richmond to be surmounted by a cross.<sup>24</sup> Regularly, for three years, Father



Hore officiated in this church.<sup>25</sup> His rectory was a rented house located on the corner of Third and Marshall Streets, from which lot a back gate opened into the yard of the church itself, which fronted on Fourth Street.<sup>26</sup> The chapel was only about the size of a large room, although it contained a gallery, and so small was the number of the faithful at this period that, during the celebration of Divine Service, the building would be only about half-filled.<sup>27</sup>

For a while Father Hore attended the Catholics of Old Point Comfort, but so few in number were they that he soon relinquished this mission,<sup>28</sup> and, sick in body, was forced to leave even the capital city for his native Erin in 1828.<sup>29</sup> He was succeeded in his pastorate by a German priest of piety and zeal, Father James Hoerner, who, two years later, was called to attend the more numerous Catholic population of Wheeling.<sup>30</sup>

The late Father Magri, in his useful but incomplete chronicle of the diocese, states that the visit of Archbishop Whitfield to Richmond during the middle or late fall of 1828 marked the first time that a prelate of the Catholic Church had set foot within the capital city of the Old Dominion.<sup>31</sup> Older authorities, closer in time to the occasion, give the year as 1829.<sup>32</sup> In his first letter to the Société de la Propagation de la Foi, written in 1830, Whitfield describes what he saw in Virginia, the whole of which he seems to have traversed. In a Commonwealth as large as England he had found but four missionaries and those hardly able to exist.<sup>33</sup>

Between 1831 and 1832 several priests made short visits to Richmond, and of these a Baltimorean, Father Schreiber, being appointed the regular pastor, made



the longest stay.<sup>34</sup> In 1832 a missionary sent by Archbishop Whitfield travelled throughout the State and, wrote the archbishop, "found the Protestants everywhere ready to hear him; they offered him their churches, their town halls, and other public buildings, inviting him to preach there. . . . How unhappy it is to be unable to send missionaries into a State that is as large as England! There is no doubt that if we had the laborers and means, prodigies would be effected in that vast and uncultivated field."<sup>35</sup>

In that same year Father Schreiber was succeeded at Richmond by Rev. Timothy O'Brien, with whose coming commenced a new era in the history of the Church in that city.<sup>36</sup> This zealous priest took up his residence in the little rented rectory at the corner of Third and Marshall Streets, his congregation continuing to use the chapel situated nearby.<sup>37</sup> In what appears to have been his first report to Archbishop Whitfield, Father O'Brien wrote that "from whatever cause . . . the religious instruction of the children has been greatly neglected."<sup>38</sup> This required an immediate remedy, and he accordingly began to hold a catechism class on every Sunday afternoon at four o'clock, preceding the holding of Vespers at five-thirty.<sup>39</sup> "I have expended my last farthing," he wrote; "I owe fourteen dollars for books, every one of which, with three dozen catechisms I have distributed."<sup>40</sup> He had found but "little sympathy" for Catholics, who appeared to be "a degraded caste in one of the most aristocratic towns in the world," but he had been visited by some of the distinguished citizens and he could state that the congregation "which was much divided, from whatever cause,

is again pretty well united.”<sup>41</sup> “I regret to have next to inform you,” he continued, “that our right to the lot on which the Church stands has been disputed last week and though the Judge has reserved his decision until the first of October, the impression seems to be that the decision will be against us, that the utmost we can obtain will be the value of the little church which will not amount to six hundred dollars though it cost nearly two thousand dollars. Even this is thought to be very doubtful. I have mentioned to the Trustees and others your intended liberality if they should build, but I believe this to be impossible as almost all are very poor.”<sup>42</sup> One year later, however, on July 24, 1833, Peter Chevallié, the surviving executor of Joseph Gallego, conveyed the disputed lot to Father O’Brien for the sum of five hundred dollars.<sup>43</sup>

The Richmond pastor had likewise been too pessimistic concerning the raising of a fund for a new and more centrally located church. On February 19, 1833, he reported to Archbishop Whitfield that “something more than \$4,000” had been subscribed, and of this sum “\$1,500 is paid and deposited in bank.”<sup>44</sup> He thought, however, that “not less than \$7,000, will accomplish the design, namely 75 feet long by 45 in width.”<sup>45</sup> He desired the building to be erected in the neighborhood of the Capitol.<sup>46</sup> There were “several admirable lots” but he did not feel warranted in proposing for them.<sup>47</sup> “Indeed,” he wrote, “it will be necessary to transact that business through the Agency of some person who may not be suspected as the idea of building a church would greatly advance its value.”<sup>48</sup> Father O’Brien hoped that there would be no difficulty

in securing the right of the property to the Archbishop, "though to advance that proposition would certainly defeat it now."<sup>49</sup> As the trustees were not incorporated they could not hold property as such, and the priest knew that they were too suspicious of each other to vest the right in any single individual among themselves.<sup>50</sup> He calculated much on assistance from northern friends. "There can hardly be a more interesting case placed before them or one in which the interests of religion are more deeply concerned."<sup>51</sup> Indeed, the assistance extended by northern Catholics to their southern brethren during this era was nearly always generous and spontaneous. Poor themselves, they gave of their poverty to those who were poorer than they.

In August, 1833, Father O'Brien consented to purchase for three thousand dollars a lot, sixty-five and a half feet on one side and one hundred sixty-five and a half on the other, "in the genteelest part of the city and within a few yards of the western gate of the Capitol."<sup>52</sup> On the thirteenth of that month he concluded an agreement "with a Mechanic to build us a church" with an apartment for himself over the sacristy in the rear of the building.<sup>53</sup> The total cost was to be \$7,500.00.<sup>54</sup>

"You will no doubt be surprised at our boldness," wrote Father O'Brien to Archbishop Whitfield, "but it is thought we can accomplish it with as much ease as an inferior building. We have been led to hope that many will assist us with a view to ornament the city who under other circumstances would not give us a dollar."<sup>55</sup>

The priest had \$4,033.00 already in the bank, and "upwards of \$2,000 subscribed."<sup>56</sup> He hoped to realize "about \$2,000 more in Richmond, and for the remaining \$3,000 we calculate on New York or Philadelphia whither it is necessary that I should proceed as soon as possible and only await your Sanction so to do."<sup>57</sup> The entire property would be deeded to Father O'Brien, the trustees merely acting as his securities.<sup>58</sup>

On April 9, 1834, Father O'Brien wrote to Father Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore who the following fall was to succeed Archbishop Whitfield, that he had "been long and anxiously waiting for the moment" when he could inform him of the completion of the new church.<sup>59</sup> "That moment has just arrived and I have informed the Archbishop that it will be ready for dedication on the 4th Sunday in May."<sup>60</sup> He promised a "respectable audience" on this occasion.<sup>61</sup> "I am going to invite some of the Nabobs as I intend to have a collection made to help to pay the debts of the church, which will be very considerable."<sup>62</sup> The dedication of the church, which was placed under the patronage of the Prince of the Apostles, Saint Peter, occurred on May 25, 1834, with Archbishop Whitfield officiating, assisted by Fathers O'Brien and Eccleston, and by Father Mullody, the President of Georgetown College.<sup>63</sup> In July, Father O'Brien wrote to the Archbishop that "our Musick [*sic*] is very fine and attracts a pretty large congregation" and that the Governor "and one or two other respectable Protestant gentlemen have taken pews."<sup>64</sup>

In general, it can be said that there was at the time, as there is today, good feeling toward Catholic Vir-



ginians on the part of their non-Catholic neighbors of the "gentle" and educated class, especially in the few urban centers. This sentiment was and still is less marked among the Protestants who are of restricted education and social privilege. Both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the ordinary Catholic citizen of Virginia has frequently been brought face to face with genuine animosity to his Church in a state where misinformation and ignorance concerning that Church have been rampant.

The governor who became a pew-holder at Saint Peter's in Richmond was Dr. John Floyd, a physician of prominence and a veteran of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition.<sup>65</sup> Neither he nor his son, John Floyd, Jr., who became President Buchanan's Secretary of War, ever embraced the ancient Faith, but the governor's widow, Mrs. Letitia Preston Floyd, was received into the Church by Bishop Whelan in 1852.<sup>66</sup> Some time earlier, the three Floyd daughters had made their submission, the first of their family so to do.<sup>67</sup> The youngest of these, Nicketti Buchanan Floyd, married United States Senator John W. Johnston, a brother to Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate general, and the senator also became a convert to the oldest Christian religion.<sup>68</sup> With the exception of Secretary Floyd, all the Governor's sons eventually came into the Church.<sup>69</sup> Of these, Benjamin Rush Floyd, a graduate of Georgetown College and a distinguished attorney, made his submission at Saint Peter's in Richmond while he was serving in the Legislature in 1851.<sup>70</sup>

When he attended Saint Peter's Hon. Rush Floyd always sat in the first pew on the west side of the



middle aisle, the same pew occupied by the Chief Justice of the United States, Roger Brooke Taney, during his visits to Richmond.<sup>71</sup> There was originally in the church only one altar, which had two or three pews on each side of it, and the first of these pews on the west side was reserved in succession for two French consuls in Richmond, M. Jean Chevallier and Count de Montholon.<sup>72</sup>

It is easy to trace the growth of the Richmond congregation following the building of Saint Peter's Church. The baptismal and marriage registers of Saint Peter's date from June 1, 1834. From that time until January, 1835, there are recorded five baptisms and six marriages.<sup>73</sup> The number of baptisms during the year 1835 was fourteen, the number of marriages remaining at six.<sup>74</sup> In 1836, however, there were twenty-eight baptisms and seventeen marriages, and in 1837, the baptisms had increased to the number of forty-eight while the marriages amounted in all to fourteen.<sup>75</sup> In this same year, Archbishop Eccleston, in a report to the Société de la Propagation de la Foi, estimated the Catholic population of all Virginia at nine thousand.<sup>76</sup>

In 1833, Father O'Brien had written to Archbishop Whitfield that, following the construction of a new church, he should like to convert the old church, which he had succeeded in buying in from the Gallego executor, into an "asylum" under the guidance of the Sisters of Charity.<sup>77</sup> "I deem one of these objects," he had said, "equally necessary as the other."<sup>78</sup> The good priest was well aware that the most efficient handmaiden of a church was a school in which the children

of the parish might receive religious instruction as well as imbibe secular learning in a godly atmosphere. In 1834, when the doors of Saint Peter's were thrown open to the faithful of Richmond, there was not in Virginia a single Catholic school. The Catholics of the State were an impecunious group; they did well in those few places where they could provide an altar for the presence of their Eucharistic Lord and a roof for His priest. For them to maintain a school would have required heroic sacrifice indeed. They had, to be sure, the will to make this sacrifice; in the breasts of the vast majority of them who were of Hibernian origin burned a traditional devotion to Christian learning and culture as proverbial as their devotion to their Faith. Even, however, had they possessed financial means as well as will, they would have encountered the handicap of finding but a few consecrated religious who could be spared by their infant American Communities for such an arduous and poorly paid task.

On June 10, 1834, Father O'Brien wrote to Mother Rose White of Emmitsburg, Maryland, as follows: "My next step is to have three Sisters of Charity. One, at least, should be an accomplished woman. There is a fine field for doing extensive and permanent good, but I will not conceal from you there will also be difficulties, and even dangers to overcome."<sup>79</sup> He anticipated, however, an immediate enrollment of from twenty to thirty scholars and did not doubt that "before one year the number would be trebled."<sup>80</sup> "Under my new church," he suggested, "there is a splendid room, sixty-two feet long, forty-five wide, and twelve feet high. It is not finished but if it should be preferred as being more

central, I would have it finished immediately and divided off as you might direct."<sup>82</sup> On the reverse of this appeal Mother Rose pencilled the following: "We regret it is not in our power to take charge of the Pay School, . . . and could not offer our services to you in any other way than to take charge of an Asylum or Poor School; though at this time, we could accept of neither, as our calls for several establishments are such as to leave us no subjects for the good work offered."<sup>83</sup>

Within a few months, however, there had been some readjustment in the situation, for, on November 22, 1834, three Sisters of Charity, Sisters Margaret George, Mary Editha, and Ann Catherine, left Emmitsburg for Richmond to open the school solicited by Father O'Brien.<sup>84</sup>

Since there was no railroad, these good women travelled by steamboat from Baltimore, and were met at Rocketts by Father O'Brien with a carriage, in which they were driven to the former chapel at Fourth and Marshall Streets.<sup>85</sup> Another carriage which the pastor had secured conveyed their baggage, and one of these vehicles was that belonging to the Governor of the State, Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell.<sup>86</sup> This was November the twenty-fifth, and thus the journey from Emmitsburg had lasted three days.<sup>87</sup>

In anticipation of the Sisters' arrival, the little chapel built by Father Hore had been partitioned into four tiny rooms.<sup>88</sup> Five ladies of the parish were at this house to receive them, having prepared a supper.<sup>89</sup> The following morning Father O'Brien came to accompany them to Mass, observing that they would be objects of curiosity by which they might be embar-

rassed.<sup>90</sup> One can only imagine the fervent hopes and cold fears that gripped Richmond's three pioneer Sisters on that morning long ago. Would they be insulted, perhaps even molested, upon the public streets? When the new school was opened, would there be enough pupils to justify its continued operation? Would they themselves have enough food and fuel throughout the damp and penetrating cold of a Virginian winter? Many a heartfelt prayer must have gone up to Heaven from the three courageous women at Saint Peter's church on that grey November morning!

As to the number of pupils, they need not have feared. When the school was opened the first week in December,<sup>91</sup> pupils, both day scholars and boarders, came so rapidly that by 1839 Father O'Brien erected a new brick building for the Sisters' and boarders' residence at the corner of Fourth and Marshall Streets.<sup>92</sup> The mother-house at Emmitsburg, of course, continued to supply teachers as they were needed. Unfortunately, no details remain to us of the curriculum and discipline involved at the growing institution.

### III

In the meanwhile, some progress had been made since 1822 in nearby Petersburg. On July the tenth of that year the Charleston *Miscellany* had reported that a "Rev. Mr. Fitzpatrick" was residing in the old town on the Appomattox,<sup>93</sup> and from a letter written by Father Carrillo to Archbishop Maréchal in 1823, we learn that Father Fitzpatrick had been forced to support himself by teaching a school.<sup>94</sup> This school must



have been of a purely secular nature, patronized by Protestant pupils. No information has come down to us regarding it, and it, like Father Fitzpatrick's stay, must have been of short duration.

In July, 1832, shortly after his arrival in Richmond, Father O'Brien had reported that he had paid one visit to Petersburg, where he had been very kindly and hospitably treated.<sup>95</sup> "Were I to consult my feeling or my interest," he had written, "I should go there often," but he had judged that this would cause resentment in Richmond, where he would lose twice what he would gain in the older town.<sup>96</sup>

In November, 1832, Father O'Brien had solicited subscriptions in Petersburg for the contemplated church in Richmond, but he had encountered among the Catholics there a readiness only to build one for themselves.<sup>97</sup> In early February, 1833, Father O'Brien initiated a subscription campaign for this purpose among them.<sup>98</sup> "I am sure," he wrote, "that if there were an intelligent priest stationed there that he would not only succeed in building in a short time, but I believe it to be the only way to establish religion in Petersburg. If he would condescend to teach a Select School, he would be amply supported. This idea seemed to take with several. I was offered my board, etc., gratis, if I would consent to live there. The salary of the clergymen as well as the Society would be infinitely preferable to that of Richmond."<sup>99</sup>

The priests from Norfolk and Baltimore and Jesuit Fathers from Georgetown visited the little congregation at intervals, often saying Mass, according to a



local tradition, in the home of a miller of French extraction on Bollingbrook Street.<sup>100</sup>

By 1839 a committee of ten collectors, all Irish by birth, were working under Father O'Brien's supervision toward the raising of the fund for the erection of a church, to which several of the leading citizens contributed.<sup>101</sup> The edifice, however, did not materialize for three more years.

#### IV

On March 6, 1823, a Catholic resident of Lynchburg, William Duffy, wrote to Archbishop Maréchal as follows:

Our numbers being small, the whole sum we could raise for the support of a clergyman would amount to about \$400 for the first year, and it is the opinion of some that were a gentleman to come who is willing to undertake the instruction of a school, a tolerably good one (school) could be procured. There is every probability of a sufficient sum of money being raised for the building of a church, as some of our most respectable inhabitants, who are professedly of no sect, have generously offered their assistance and are now using their influence for us."<sup>102</sup>

Mr. Duffy's petition displayed admirable zeal for religion but his dream of a church was much too rose-colored in view of the small number of his co-religionists in the town. The school, of course, would have been a secular one, and this itself indicates that the Catholics of Lynchburg felt themselves unable to support a pastor.

A priest could not be spared for this mission, and Father Carrillo had reported to Archbishop Maréchal from Richmond on December 15, 1823, that there were only ten Catholics in Lynchburg and, since the trip to this point from Richmond cost "60 piastres," he did not think it advisable to travel the distance.<sup>103</sup>

It was not until 1829 that the first Mass was offered in Lynchburg, its celebrant being the native Virginian, Father Samuel Cooper, who officiated at the residence of a French lady, Mrs. Mary B. Dornin.<sup>104</sup> In the afternoon of the same day Father Cooper preached a sermon at the Court House.<sup>105</sup> To many Protestants who must have been in his audience, this sight of a Catholic priest was their first, and this sermon, their initial message from the most eminent of Christian churches.

In 1834, a large number of Irishmen came to the city to work near there on the James River and Kanawha Canal, a small segment of the vast body of Irish Catholic immigrants who laid the sinews of America's transportation system. Father Timothy O'Brien visited them in an attempt to obtain donations toward the erection of St. Peter's Church at Richmond, saying Mass for them on this occasion at the home of one Michael Connell.<sup>106</sup> He made three subsequent visits to the town, two years or more intervening between each visit, the last being in 1841.<sup>107</sup> The Catholic inhabitants would then have the privilege of hearing Mass at the home of Mrs. Dornin, where, on his call in 1838, the priest established a Sunday School, which must have been taught by that lady.<sup>108</sup> How many Catholic lay women such as she labored to keep alive the spark of faith in Virginia we shall never know. Their names in most

instances are only recorded in the celestial chronicle. We can surmise that their contribution was as tremendously rewarding in souls saved for the church as it was, on their part, valiant and self-sacrificing.

## V

The church in Tidewater Virginia which had been such a storm center during the episcopate of Bishop Kelly is shrouded in obscurity from 1822 to 1833, a situation partly due to the burning of records of old Saint Patrick's Church at Norfolk in 1856.<sup>109</sup>

On his resuming jurisdiction over Virginia, Archbishop Maréchal had placed at Norfolk Father Thomas Hore who, as has been noted, later served at Richmond, and Father Christopher Delany.<sup>110</sup>

Father Delany, who apparently was named the pastor at Norfolk, is known to have officiated also at Portsmouth from June, 1823, to May, 1834.<sup>111</sup> The late historian of Portsmouth, Miss Mildred M. Holladay, stated, however, that Rev. Joseph Van Horsigh, a native of Antwerp, became pastor in that town in 1824 and served the congregation for ten years, when he was succeeded by "a young German, Father Burgess, who spoke broken English."<sup>112</sup> In contradiction to this statement, William A. Walsh, the oldest chronicler of Portsmouth's Catholic history, recorded that there was no regular pastor appointed for Portsmouth prior to 1834, until which year the town was regarded as an adjunct to the Norfolk mission; and that in that year, Rev. Joseph Stokes was appointed its first pastor.<sup>113</sup> According to Walsh, Father Stokes' place of residence

remained at Norfolk, and he retained the Portsmouth pastorate until September, 1836, when he was succeeded by Father Van Horsigh who served only a short while.<sup>114</sup> Both Walsh and Miss Holladay agree that Father Van Horsigh was the builder of a new church in the town. Walsh says that this was accomplished about the year 1837, "by much exertion, and appealing to other localities."<sup>115</sup>

Rev. Walter Moriarty came next to Portsmouth, from whence he attended Old Point Comfort.<sup>116</sup> He is said to have lived for a while at Norfolk, although he afterwards resided within the limits of his pastoral charge, making his home on the western side of Court Street, near County.<sup>117</sup> He did not leave Portsmouth until November, 1844, when he was succeeded by the heroic Father Devlin.<sup>118</sup>

In the Borough of Norfolk only one marriage ceremony performed by a Catholic clergyman is recorded between the years 1820 and 1832.<sup>119</sup> This, of course, does not imply that there was but one Catholic marriage in the city during those years, since civil requirements at that period with regard to the registration of marriages were not so strict as they are at the present time, but it does indicate the low ebb of Catholic life in Norfolk after the unfortunate schism.

Father Samuel Cooper served the congregation of his native city as pastor at some time prior to 1830 or 1831, and was succeeded by Father Van Horsigh.<sup>120</sup> In 1829, Archbishop Whitfield, on his visitation of the Diocese of Richmond, came to Norfolk, where he confirmed one hundred and thirty-eight persons, and also visited Portsmouth.<sup>121</sup> At this time, the prelate esti-

mated the Catholic population of the two Tidewater cities at six hundred souls.<sup>122</sup>

During the pastorate of Father Van Horsigh, a small, brick building, Norfolk's first Saint Patrick's Church, was erected on the corner of Holt and Chapel Streets.<sup>123</sup> It was dedicated in July, 1831.<sup>124</sup>

From 1835 until 1852 the pastorate at Norfolk was held by Rev. Dr. Alexander Hitzelberger, a man of rare eloquence and remarkable learning.<sup>125</sup> In 1893, an aged Catholic resident of Norfolk recalled his boyhood pastor, Father Hitzelberger, in these words:

To me he appeared a sweet, fatherly personage, most gentle in manner and graceful in bearing. He was of ordinary height, fair-haired, full round face that was always illuminated with a pleasant smile. . . . The children all loved him. He was held in highest esteem and affectionate regard by the members of his flock, and the community in general, irrespective of religious differences, respected and honored him. I have been told he was gifted as an orator and that no one in Norfolk at that time excelled him in eloquence.<sup>128</sup>

In September, 1839, Father Hitzelberger introduced the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul to Norfolk.<sup>127</sup> One Thomas Moran had left a legacy to have the Sisters established in the city, and an orphan asylum had originally been planned, but instead a school was founded that was partially free and partially private.<sup>128</sup> Sister M. Redempta Blondell was Sister Servant or superioress of the small community which consisted of but two other members, Sister M. Callista and Sister M. Hyacinth.<sup>129</sup> The academy which was located on Chapel and Mariner Streets, existed precariously for three years, at the end of which time a



financial panic forced the withdrawal of the tuition students and the closing of the doors of the school.<sup>130</sup>

To Norfolk, not long removed in tradition from colonial days, the coming of the good Sisters had been a source of suspicion, which had been fanned from the pulpits of the town. Father Hitzelberger had accordingly announced that he would reply to all questions concerning these religious on a certain date, and, after he had at that time finished the telling of the story of the spiritual daughters of Saint Vincent to an audience which taxed the capacity of his little church, there had been no further need for apologetics.<sup>131</sup>

## VI

Of the four priests whom Archbishop Whitfield mentioned as being stationed in Virginia in 1829, we have seen that one was at Richmond and two were in Tidewater. The fourth, Father F. Roloff, served Wheeling and Martinsburg in the western part of the state.<sup>132</sup>

In 1823 a new town, Triadelphia, had been founded in Ohio County in the immediate vicinity of Wheeling and at a point three hundred and sixty-four miles from Richmond and two hundred and fifty-five from Washington.<sup>133</sup> The number of Catholics who had settled there was sufficient to justify the erection of a church.<sup>134</sup> This parish, together with that at Wheeling and a new one formed at Grove Creek, had been confided by Archbishop Maréchal to Rev. Anthony Myrthe.<sup>135</sup> The Archbishop had visited these congregations during the summer of 1824 and had administered the Sacrament of Confirmation.<sup>136</sup> How long Father Myrthe remained in charge of them is not known. Father Roloff, the

pastor at Wheeling in 1829, is said to have found "little encouragement,"<sup>137</sup> and there is a gap in the Catholic history of that section until 1841, when Rev. James Hoerner, who had formerly served at Richmond, was stationed there.<sup>138</sup>

The Charleston *Miscellany* reported in July, 1822, that "Rev. Mr. Mahony" was the resident priest in the western part of Virginia.<sup>139</sup> He is mentioned by two authorities as having been the priest in charge of the Martinsburg congregation at about that period,<sup>140</sup> but other priests are known to have served the spiritual needs of Martinsburg, and those of Winchester, Bath, and Shepherdstown as well, prior to 1829.<sup>141</sup>

As has been noted in the last section, Saint Joseph's Church at Martinsburg either was built or completed by Father John B. Gildea, who became pastor there prior to the end of 1829.<sup>142</sup> He remained there until 1836, though the cholera twice ravaged his extended parish and thrice prostrated him.<sup>143</sup> Zealous to spread Catholic doctrine, this pioneer pastor of Martinsburg did all in his power to disseminate short popular explanations of dogmatic truths, and he subsequently became one of the founders of the Catholic Tract Society.<sup>144</sup> Father Gildea was also the builder of the church at Harper's Ferry, which, placed under the patronage of Saint Peter, was dedicated by Archbishop Whitfield in May, 1833.<sup>145</sup>

In 1834 Father Richard Vincent Whelan, Richmond's future bishop, became the first resident pastor of Saint Peter's Church at Harper's Ferry, and Martinsburg, Winchester, Waterford, Romney, and Bath (now known as Berkeley Springs), were all made his mis-

sions.<sup>146</sup> He built a church dedicated to Saint Vincent de Paul at the last-named place and may indeed have completed the one at Martinsburg,<sup>147</sup> where, in 1838, he established Saint Vincent's Female Academy under the care of the Sisters of Charity.<sup>148</sup> Eventually assigned an assistant,<sup>149</sup> Father Whelan took up his residence at Martinsburg in 1836.<sup>150</sup>

## VII

In a report to the Société de la Propagation de la Foi in 1837, Archbishop Eccleston estimated the Catholic population of Virginia at nine thousand and the number of churches or chapels at eight.<sup>151</sup> These latter, as will have been gathered from the foregoing history, were located at Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Wheeling, Martinsburg, Winchester, Harper's Ferry, and Bath, now called Berkeley Springs.

In 1841, six priests are listed as laborers within the Diocese of Richmond, an era embracing all of the present state of Virginia, with the exception of the town of Alexandria, and all of what is now West Virginia. These priests were as follows: Rev. Timothy O'Brien, who, after 1839, was assisted by his brother, Rev. John O'Brien, popularly known as "Father John," Father Hitzelberger at Norfolk, Father Moriarty at Portsmouth, Father Hoerner at Wheeling, and Rev. Daniel Downey, who in that year began to travel between Petersburg and Lynchburg, ministering to the needs of those congregations.<sup>152</sup>

Such was the modest state of his diocese when, in the spring, in obedience to the command of Pope Gregory XVI, the second Bishop of Richmond took up his residence within the Old Dominion.



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## CHAPTER III

# Nine Years With Bishop Whelan

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*"Why is the solemn chant of the ancient liturgy heard far beyond the Alleghanies? Why are the prairies of the distant West dotted with Catholic temples, while in Virginia the very name is scarcely known but to be abused? It may be that we have not sufficiently appreciated the value of religious truth; that we have neither availed ourselves of such means as were within our reach, nor lifted our voices in humble supplication to Him who has promised to grant what is sought in sincerity and with perseverance."*<sup>1</sup>

—PASTORAL LETTER OF RICHARD VINCENT WHELAN,  
SECOND BISHOP OF RICHMOND,  
BALTIMORE, MD., MARCH 22, 1841.

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### I

A zealous prelate now came into the diocese which, for nineteen years, had been bereft of a head. This was Richmond's great missionary bishop, Richard Vincent Whelan.

Richard Vincent Whelan was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on January 28, 1809, and was therefore only thirty-two years of age upon his elevation to the episcopacy.<sup>2</sup> He was the son of David Whelan, a highly respected Catholic citizen of Baltimore,<sup>3</sup> who also gave another son, David, to the priesthood.<sup>4</sup> Both brothers made their classical studies at Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, and their theological



studies at the Seminary of Saint Sulpice in Paris.<sup>5</sup> The future bishop was but ten years of age when he entered Mount Saint Mary's where John Hughes, later the famous Archbishop of New York, was one of his classmates.<sup>6</sup> He was ordained to the priesthood in 1831 at Versailles,<sup>7</sup> and shortly thereafter he returned to his native country.<sup>8</sup>

Father Whelan's merit and abilities induced Archbishop Whitfield to propose him, in 1834, as the successor to Rev. John B. Purcell in the presidency of Mount Saint Mary's College, but circumstances led the young priest to decline this offer and he was assigned to the missions of western Virginia.<sup>9</sup> There he has already been noted in this narrative as the enterprising pastor of Harper's Ferry, Martinsburg, Winchester, Waterford, Bath, and Romney.

McManus' *Sketch of the History of the Catholic Church in Martinsburg, W. Va.*, relates a touching incident in this period of the bishop's life. At Martinsburg, a farm which had been given to the parish was sold and the money invested in a rectory. In the rear of this house Father Whelan had a small carpenter's shop erected, and there he would make benches for his little church or construct furniture for his home. (It is said that he actually did all the wood and stone work, painting, and plastering, upon the church which he founded at Bath.) One of his parishioners, the wife of a Protestant farmer, being at the point of death, sent her exceedingly prejudiced husband into the town to seek the priest. The man resolved to pretend to the dying woman upon his return that he had been unable to locate her pastor. His wagon broke down, however,

at a point opposite to the rectory, and, as he mistook Father Whelan to be a carpenter, the farmer solicited the clergyman to repair the vehicle. Father Whelan helped the man to remove the wagon from the street and, while its owner lolled in a local tavern, capably repaired it. When the farmer returned he offered the supposed carpenter pay, which was gently refused. "He that preaches the Gospel should live by the Gospel," said Father Whelan. Explanations were then exchanged, and the priest accompanied the man, who later became a Catholic, to the bedside of his expiring wife who received with profound gratitude the last rites of her Church.

## II

Shortly after his consecration at Baltimore, Bishop Whelan proceeded to Richmond, where a house on the northwest corner of Grace and Eighth Streets had been rented for his occupancy.<sup>10</sup> Saint Peter's Church became his pro-Cathedral, and he not only attended that congregation, but also made regular visits to the faithful of Lynchburg<sup>11</sup> and Petersburg.<sup>12</sup> His first official act was to make an urgent and successful appeal for assistance to the Catholic mission aid societies of Paris, Lyons, and Vienna, to whom Archbishop Eccleston also wrote in his behalf.<sup>13</sup> The young bishop felt strongly, however, that any hope for the permanence of his see must be based upon efforts made at home. He accordingly determined to heed the admonition to bishops of the General Council of Trent and of the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore and to establish a seminary within his diocese.

With this end in view and without delay, Bishop Whelan, during the very year of his arrival at Richmond, purchased a farm the site of which now lies within the limits of the capital city. The tenant houses on the property were refitted, and new brick buildings were begun, the bricks being molded on the ground with the Bishop himself assisting in the labor.<sup>14</sup> Dedicated to Saint Vincent de Paul, this institution was not destined to be long-lived, but it gave to Virginia several excellent priests, including three natives of Ireland's County Longford, the celebrated martyr of Portsmouth's yellow fever epidemic, Father Francis Devlin, Father Charles Farrell, and the builder of the present Saint Paul's Church at Portsmouth, Father Joseph Plunkett.<sup>15</sup> Taking up his own residence at the seminary,<sup>16</sup> Bishop Whelan was its rector while Rev. Joseph Guerdet came from New York to be vice-rector.<sup>17</sup>

One of the students, Henry F. Parke, wrote the following tribute to the right reverend rector:

An early riser through life, he presides at all the public exercises, partakes of the same frugal fare, labors with his own hands, teaches his full quota of classes, lectures at spiritual reading, meditates in common with the rest, says the community Mass, gives out the examen of conscience, and yet has leisure for study and to manage the temporalities. The spectacle of such a life is an education in itself.<sup>18</sup>

The Bishop taught the classes in Sacred Scripture, theology, philosophy, and French, and, while he was making the necessary visitations of the diocese, these courses were directed by his brother, Rev. David Whelan, who succeeded Father Guerdet as vice-rector

of the institution.<sup>19</sup> The visitations to more distant points were generally made during the long vacations, while those to nearer localities would be accomplished during the short holidays.<sup>20</sup> On each visit to a post, the bishop would energetically preach and catechize, hear confessions and visit the sick.<sup>21</sup>

On the Feast of the Circumcision, January 1, 1842, Richard Vincent Whelan held at Saint Peter's Pro-Cathedral in Richmond the first Catholic ordination ever witnessed in the Commonwealth of Virginia.<sup>22</sup> On that day, Mr. James Hewitt was raised to the sub-deaconate, and Mr. Charles Fox, after having received the tonsure, was admitted to minor orders.<sup>23</sup> On the following day, Mr. Hewitt was promoted to the deaconate,<sup>24</sup> and on the Feast of the Epiphany, January the sixth, he was elevated to the holy priesthood.<sup>25</sup> According to a correspondent of *The United States Catholic Magazine* in February, 1842, the sanctuary of Saint Peter's was "now filled every Sunday with candidates for the ministry, nine of whom are students of divinity," and the diocesan seminary had "its complement of students" which would "prevent any further admissions for the ensuing twelve months."<sup>26</sup>

The little seminary, however, proved to be too ambitious an undertaking for so poor a diocese, and the classical academy for boys attached to it was then too far from Richmond to function as a day school.<sup>27</sup> Sadly, in 1846, the Bishop announced the discontinuance of the project but pointed out that several subjects were preparing for the priesthood in Virginia at the Seminary of All Hallows in Dublin, and at that of Saint Mary in Baltimore.<sup>28</sup>

The vice-rector, Father David Whelan, was now appointed the first resident pastor of the congregation at Petersburg,<sup>29</sup> where, on January 23, 1842, the Bishop, assisted by Father James Ryder, S.J., and Father Timothy O'Brien, had dedicated Saint Joseph's Church,<sup>30</sup> which had been temporarily served by Fathers Daniel Downey and S. A. Bernier.<sup>31</sup> Father Whelan, who had taught rhetoric, Latin, and the higher mathematics, was described by one of his pupils as "a solid theologian, skilful rubricist, effective speaker, and a model of regularity and promptness."<sup>32</sup> After laboring for two years at Petersburg, where he built the rectory,<sup>33</sup> he assisted during the year 1848 at Wheeling, and from then until his death in 1860, he was attached to the Cathedral of Cincinnati.<sup>34</sup>

During the great yellow fever scourge of 1855, the deserted buildings of Saint Vincent's Seminary provided a shelter for the orphans made by the epidemic.<sup>35</sup> Some years later these buildings were destroyed by fire and the grounds were subsequently converted into a Catholic cemetery, known, from the founder of the seminary, as the Bishop's Cemetery.<sup>36</sup> In 1897, when Richmond's Mount Calvary Cemetery was opened, this older place of interment became a cemetery for Catholic members of the colored race.<sup>37</sup>

### III

The year 1842 was one of marked progress for the Church in Eastern Virginia. Not only, as we have seen, was Saint Joseph's Church in Petersburg opened for worship in January of that year, but, as we shall now



see, a new church at Norfolk was also completed, and a parish was organized at Lynchburg.

On July the tenth, Bishop Whelan had the satisfaction of dedicating the second Saint Patrick's Church at Norfolk,<sup>38</sup> a city which is said especially to have consoled him.<sup>39</sup> Father Hitzelberger, the popular pastor who, in the following month of August, was asked to deliver the dedicatory address at the commencement of the construction of Norfolk's City Hall,<sup>40</sup> had replaced the small chapel erected by Father Van Horsigh at the corner of Holt and Chapel Streets with "a very handsome building, ninety-six feet long by fifty wide, of the Grecian order."<sup>41</sup> This new church, built directly on Holt Street, remains substantially the same today, having been converted into the present parish hall of Saint Mary's.<sup>42</sup> The entrance was by three ascents of granite steps, and in the basement was provided a "commodious Sunday-school room."<sup>43</sup>

In 1846, four years after the dedication, the *United States Catholic Magazine* reported that the building was "much admired for its tasteful simplicity and chasteness."<sup>44</sup> "Situated on the borders of the Elizabeth River," continued the periodical, "and surrounded by its picturesque and tall evergreens, it attracts the passer-by, and invites to serious meditation. Its walls are adorned with rare pictures, among them two of rare merit, copies of Guido's Crucifixion and Murillo's Assumption. The choir is excellent and the organ decidedly the best in the city. It is truly gratifying to behold the recollection and decorum of the congregation during divine service."<sup>45</sup> The painting of the Assumption had been presented to the church in 1844 by Their Majes-

ties, King Louis Philippe and Queen Amélie of France, and that of the Crucifixion was a gift from Miss Ann Herron, who had donated the land on which the church stood.<sup>46</sup>

The *United States Catholic Magazine* reported that a large number of converts were received into Saint Patrick's Church, Norfolk, between 1843 and 1846, including a total of fifteen adults who made their submission after Christmas, 1845.<sup>47</sup>

Father Moriarty, the priest stationed at the neighboring city of Portsmouth, numbered also among his flock the Catholic officers and enlisted men of Fortress Monroe.<sup>48</sup> One of the former, Lieutenant John O'Brien, was ordered to march a group of regular soldiers to a Protestant church for the Sunday service.<sup>49</sup> As he considered the order to be unconstitutional, he obeyed it only so far as to march the men to the door of the church, leaving to the choice of each man whether or not to take part in the service.<sup>50</sup> On his return, he was deprived of his sword and placed under arrest, but the War Department did not allow the case to proceed and ordered the return of the officer's sword.<sup>51</sup> In a standard work, which he published a few years after this incident, *A Treatise on American Military Law*, Lieutenant O'Brien treated at length the question of compulsory attendance at divine service.<sup>52</sup>

In 1841, shortly after the coming of Bishop Whelan to the diocese, the Catholics of Lynchburg petitioned him for a resident pastor, and that year the Bishop sent to them Rev. Daniel Downey who was shared at the time by the congregation of Petersburg.<sup>53</sup> In the following year, after the dedication of the Petersburg

church, the Bishop determined that a pastorate should definitely be set up at Lynchburg, to which should be attached the stations of Staunton, Union, Lexington, and Charlottesville, and, in 1843, he appointed Father Downey to be the first resident pastor.<sup>54</sup>

Upon first coming to Lynchburg, Father Downey had rented a vacant building, formerly used as a place of worship by Baptists, at the western extremity of Church Street, in which he officiated for nearly two years.<sup>55</sup> In this place, while on a visit to the city, Bishop Whelan once conferred the Sacrament of Confirmation upon one person.<sup>56</sup> In 1842, however, Father Downey secured a lot on Clay Street, where a small brick building was erected, being used before its dedication as a hall for lectures.<sup>57</sup> In October, 1843, the Bishop had the happiness of dedicating this simple church, which was placed under the patronage of the great Jesuit Missionary, Saint Francis Xavier.<sup>58</sup>

Before the end of 1843, Bishop Whelan removed Father Downey to Staunton, which, with Lexington and Charlottesville attached to it, then became a separate parish, and to Lynchburg was sent Rev. Francis O'Donoghue, a native of Killarney in County Cork.<sup>59</sup> So hard had the poor congregation struggled to build their church that, even after its completion, there could be placed within it but one or two pews, the majority of people having to stand during Mass,<sup>60</sup> and the new pastor proceeded immediately to work on the furnishing of the church with plain seats.<sup>61</sup>

Father O'Donoghue's pastorate was short, for he died on December 30, 1845, his remains being interred in the southern corner of the old Methodist Cemetery.<sup>62</sup>

His successor was Father Charles Farrell, an alumnus of Bishop Whelan's seminary, who had made his humanities among the Sulpicians at Montreal.<sup>63</sup> He remained but a few days, and upon his return to the Martinsburg parish, of which he also had charge, he was stricken with tuberculosis, of which he died in 1846.<sup>64</sup> The Lynchburg Catholics were visited in 1847 by another of Bishop Whelan's former seminarians, the saintly Father Edward Fox,<sup>65</sup> who, in 1847, was sent to them as their permanent pastor.<sup>66</sup>

At Richmond, in the meanwhile, a rectory had been built about 1844 for Rev. Timothy O'Brien on the lot in the rear of Saint Peter's Cathedral by Dr. Murray, a physician and a member of the cathedral parish.<sup>67</sup> Dr. Murray, who was old and sickly, imposed the condition, to which Father O'Brien readily assented, that he should occupy one of the rectory rooms until his death, which occurred not long afterwards.<sup>68</sup> The rectory, which consisted of only five or six rooms, covered the space of the present sanctuary and was connected with the church.<sup>69</sup> Its erection enabled Father O'Brien to enlarge the cathedral sanctuary by adding to the latter the large room which had previously been his quarters.<sup>70</sup>

#### IV

The progress made in the spread of the Faith in the western part of the Commonwealth between 1841 and 1846 was no less noticeable than that in the eastern area.

During the first year of his episcopate Bishop Whelan crossed the mountains to visit Wheeling, whose church was attended by Father Hoerner, and there he



preached, instructed, and confirmed.<sup>71</sup> He found that all Catholics west of the Alleghanies, save those of the Wheeling parish, were dependent for the Sacraments on the charity of priests from Pennsylvania, Maryland, or, in the instance of those living farther to the south, the diocese of Cincinnati, among whose missionaries, on many an occasion, was its noted bishop, John Purcell.<sup>72</sup> In May, Bishop Whelan was in Martinsburg, where Father John O'Brien had been sent from Richmond to serve as pastor,<sup>73</sup> and from this place he wrote to Bishop Francis Kenrick of Philadelphia requesting that prelate to grant the necessary faculties for ministering in Virginia to the clergymen under his charge living on the borders of the Richmond diocese, as "it may not be in my power to make provision during many years yet to come."<sup>74</sup> Among the missionaries known to have served in the mountainous counties of Virginia at this period was Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann, C.S.S.R., at that time Assistant Pastor of Saint James's Church, Baltimore, later Bishop of Philadelphia, now honored by the Church under the title of "Venerable."<sup>75</sup>

On August 1, 1842, Bishop Whelan, accompanied by Rev. James Ryder, S.J., made his first visit to Wytheville, where he baptized the first converts and where Dr. Ryder delivered a course of brilliant lectures.<sup>76</sup> Shortly afterwards, Captain John P. Matthews, high sheriff of Wythe County, donated money and an acre lot for the erection of a chapel.<sup>77</sup>

The missionary labors of Bishop Whelan in that year of grace, 1842, were truly remarkable in view of the fact that he was at the same time conducting his seminary near Richmond. He is known to have visited



Parkersburg, Morgantown, Weston, Kingwood, Hardy, and Hampshire in the northwest,<sup>78</sup> and to have determined to locate a pastor for this area at Kingwood in Preston County.<sup>79</sup> He also reconnoitred in the Kanawha, Guyandotte, and Big Sandy regions of the southwest, and resolved to place a priest at Summerville in Nicholas County.<sup>80</sup>

As priest or bishop, Richard Vincent Whelan was never known to miss a pastoral appointment, no matter how inclement the weather or how bad or long, the roads, and often he reached distant Mass stations over deep snows with frost-bitten feet.<sup>81</sup> On such occasions he is said to have remarked: "If pastors wish to form and to be consoled with fervent and self-sacrificing congregations, they must themselves set them the example."<sup>82</sup> It is no wonder that the historian, Father Magri, commented that "the name of Bishop Whelan should go down in history as one of the greatest and most zealous apostles yet produced by this country."<sup>83</sup>

In 1843, Bishop Whelan paid a second visit to Wytheville, where he delivered a course of lectures which were well received by the townspeople.<sup>84</sup> On this occasion, he made another circuit of all the western counties.<sup>85</sup>

The conditions found in these counties are vividly revealed in a description by Rev. Joseph Plunkett, scion of one of Ireland's most ancient and aristocratic houses, who had been ordained to the priesthood at Saint Peter's Cathedral by Bishop Whelan. Father Plunkett was sent on a scout into western Virginia as far as the Ohio at Parkersburg with orders to ascertain the strength of the faithful in that remote region.<sup>86</sup> He

reported that he had "reached the jumping off point, can hear of but few families, and those of very primitive habits. They divide their grub with a cleaver, lie upon shocks, and regard possum meat good diet."<sup>87</sup>

In August, 1845, the Bishop dedicated the Wytheville church,<sup>88</sup> receiving and confirming eight converts, "members of old and respectable families,"<sup>89</sup> and in placing Father Edward Fox over the parish, fulfilled a promise which he had made to the first converts that he would give them one of his newly-ordained priests if they could afford to support a pastor.<sup>90</sup> Father Fox retained charge of Wytheville until his death in 1850, even after he had also been given the pastorate of Lynchburg one hundred and fifty miles distant in 1847.<sup>91</sup> Father Parke said of Fox, an enthusiastic controversialist, that "when animated, it was not unusual with him to doff his coat and give wings to his neck-tie, roll up his sleeves, and abandon himself to his theme with such vehemence of logic and conviction as to disarm the sense of the ridiculous."<sup>92</sup> He had indeed the peculiarities of the saints. Father Parke related that "at the bare recital of suffering his heart melted and flew to the rescue. In the Wythe country he gave away his saddle, nag and outfit in answer to such an appeal. Between Portsmouth and Norfolk, one wintry day, hearing on the boat a tale of woe, he donned a shabby outfit and presented the beggar his suit of span-new broadcloth."<sup>93</sup>

Young Father Austin Grogan, who had been appointed pastor at Kingwood, in Preston County, now found himself responsible for the maintenance and spread of the Catholic religion in a territory roughly

one thousand five hundred miles square.<sup>94</sup> From Kingwood he radiated eastward to the Maryland line, through Hardy and Hampshire, and westward to the Ohio, visiting Weston, Morgantown, Parkersburg, and Point Pleasant.<sup>95</sup> In 1847, he was called upon to fill the Summerville pastorate, and then he penetrated the wilds of Barbour, Braxton, Fayette, and Kanawha counties.<sup>96</sup> Father Parke wrote of him: "He knew no fear and seemed never to tire. His mission was to keep alive the imperiled spark of faith; he did it bravely. History will honor him as the pioneer priest of Western Virginia. He served the Virginia mission seven and one-half years, of which during the greater part, he suffered incredible hardships."<sup>97</sup> Under his supervision, a chapel at Preston and a brick church at Weston were erected.<sup>98</sup> His death occurred finally in Ohio, where he was pastor at Urbanna, in 1859.<sup>99</sup>

In 1846, the first railway penetrated the north-western part of Virginia. Along its route settled many Catholics, which caused Bishop Whelan to believe that the church in that section had a great future.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, in the early part of that year, leaving in charge at Richmond his Vicar General, Father Timothy O'Brien, the bishop left for Wheeling to supply there "temporarily," as he said, the vacancy existing in that church.<sup>101</sup>

"Presto!" wrote Father Parke. "On our Northern Virginia borders appear the approaches of a great line of railway-harbinger of the largest results. And in its wake another but more peaceful invasion, composed of Soldiers of the Cross, in quest of bread and homes, who will ramify over, and settle down in, the counties

adjoining the great work. These accessions of the diocese will constitute the seminal beginnings of a series of Western mission-posts, destined in time to bloom into separate, self-sustaining parish life."<sup>102</sup> However, a contemporaneous Virginia historian commented more acidly, "The Roman Catholic Church has not neglected our state in her measures for extending her communion. The communicants of the Church are in general foreigners, chiefly of French and Irish extract. The fine lands of West Virginia, by their cheapness, have attracted foreign population, and to them the Papists have already directed special attention."<sup>103</sup>

In any event, after boarding the diligence that day early in 1846 to leave the capital city, Richard Vincent Whelan never returned again to Richmond as its bishop.<sup>104</sup>

## V

The most interesting development in the Catholic history of Richmond between the withdrawal of Bishop Whelan to Wheeling in 1846 and the coming of Bishop McGill to Saint Peter's in 1850 is the formation of the city's German parish.

So far back as the late eighteen-thirties, priests are known to have come four times a year from Baltimore to attend to the needs of Richmond's German-speaking Catholics.<sup>105</sup> Then, in 1843, at a meeting held in the basement of Saint Peter's Cathedral, under the Chairmanship of a visiting Redemptorist priest, Father Allig, these people had decided to group themselves into a congregation under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin and to take monthly collections toward a fund to erect

a church and to support a pastor.<sup>106</sup> Thenceforward, meetings had been held with regularity and collections taken up on the second Sunday of each month, on which day a German speaking priest from Washington would officiate in the cathedral basement.<sup>107</sup>

On the fourteenth of April, 1848, Bishop Whelan appointed a Father Brauer to be the first pastor of the Germans of Richmond.<sup>108</sup> On May the first, he was installed and on May the fourth, he conducted services for the first time in Saint Peter's basement.<sup>109</sup> In September he began to officiate in a house, previously known as Burke's School House, on the south side of Marshall Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets,<sup>110</sup> the annual rental for which was one hundred and fifty dollars.<sup>111</sup> Father Brauer remained with Saint Mary's congregation in Richmond for two years.<sup>112</sup>

Also in 1848 Saint Joseph's Academy, the school which the Sisters of Charity had conducted in the capital city since 1834 was incorporated.<sup>113</sup> Two years later, at the advent of Bishop McGill, this institution numbered ninety pupils while the asylum consisted of five sisters, eleven orphans and twenty-one boarders, in addition to which there was a Sunday School with an attendance varying from forty to sixty scholars.<sup>114</sup>

The ecclesiastical history of Richmond during the active vicar-generalship of Father O'Brien after 1846 would not be complete without a mention of the visit to the city of the famed Irish "apostle of temperance," Father Theobald Matthew, in December, 1849.<sup>115</sup> Crowds came to hear his sermons, the first of which was preached on Christmas Day, and many, including



a number who were not of the Catholic faith, took the pledge.<sup>116</sup>

In 1848, Bishop Whelan, while on a visit to the eastern portion of his extensive diocese, confirmed eleven converts at Norfolk,<sup>117</sup> thereby bringing the total number of persons in that city who had received this Sacrament at his hand to forty-three.<sup>118</sup> During this same visit he also founded at Norfolk and entrusted to the Sisters of Charity Saint Mary's School and Orphan Asylum.<sup>119</sup>

This institution, the second attempted in the Tidewater city by the same community of women, had been brought about by Father Hitzelberger, the pastor of Saint Patrick's, who, on January 29, 1848, had petitioned the Sisters at Emmitsburg, Maryland, to establish a free school and orphan asylum in his parish.<sup>120</sup> This petition having been granted, Sister Mary Aloysia Lilly and two companions<sup>121</sup> had been sent to open the school,<sup>122</sup> in a building located on Chapel and Fennchurch Streets.<sup>123</sup>

In a letter of February 8, 1848, Sister Mary Aloysia described the following:

We have a good house, the rooms tolerably large with ceilings high, large play ground, vegetable garden, yard, kitchen, meat house, wood house, pump, and all enclosed by a high board fence. . . . One great blessing for me is that I shall not have the same great anxiety here in trying to keep up the institution which I have had in other places. Miss Ann Herron has undertaken the good work; she furnished and supports it entirely. If others wish to give donations, of course, they can do so, but she is responsible entirely for the support of the Asylum. There are no managers of any kind which is

well for us. The whole is under the jurisdiction of the great Father Alexander.<sup>124</sup>

Miss Herron wanted the school "for the poorest of the poor," but within its first year of operation, difficulties arose. Many children were attending the school who were able to pay tuition, and, since the struggle to exist was not proving to be an easy one, the Sisters felt strongly that these pupils should be charged.<sup>125</sup> The matter was finally adjusted in November, 1849, when Miss Herron entered into an agreement to pay one thousand dollars per annum during her lifetime for the maintenance of Saint Mary's Asylum, provided that the Sisters of Charity should remain in charge.<sup>126</sup> This agreement was to be executed from the fifth of February, 1849.<sup>127</sup> In 1852, during the episcopate of Bishop McGill, "St. Mary's Female Academy and Orphan Asylum" was incorporated by an act of the General Assembly of Virginia.<sup>128</sup>

## VI

On May 2, 1846, Bishop Whelan, aided by Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati as orator, laid the cornerstone of Saint James's Church at Wheeling,<sup>129</sup> the ample basement of which furnished school facilities for twenty years.<sup>130</sup> There, in 1848, he founded Saint Vincent's School for Boys, which was placed under the direction of the parochial clergy.<sup>131</sup> The Bishop's announcement of its opening stated the terms of the school to be at the incredibly small figures "from \$1.00 to \$2.00 per quarter, according to proficiency,"<sup>132</sup> but that "none are allowed to be excluded for want of means."<sup>133</sup>

In 1848 the Bishop also introduced into Wheeling nine Visitation nuns, who, established in a house adjoining the church, took up the work of teaching.<sup>134</sup> In the following year, these nuns were conducting three schools, with eighty scholars, of whom ten were boarders.<sup>135</sup>

The Bishop also took four young men as students of theology into his own house at Wheeling, and here again a little seminary was begun.<sup>136</sup>

On November 26, 1848, the completed church at Wheeling was dedicated, with the Bishop of Cincinnati again being the speaker of the occasion.<sup>137</sup> It is said that when no workman could be found willing to undertake the perilous task of erecting a cross on the spire, Bishop Whelan himself ascended to a little platform around the steeple near the top, and placed the large cross in the ball prepared for it.<sup>138</sup>

Rev. Robert J. Lawrence, ordained in July, 1848, for the archdiocese of Baltimore, now offered himself for the Virginia missions, and after a six months' assignment at Wheeling and a tour of duty in the Ohio Valley to Big Sandy, he was stationed at Parkersburg as the first pastor of that congregation.<sup>139</sup> Here the bishop erected a small brick chapel, with rooms, or rather as Father Parke wrote, "Cells," over the sacristy for the missionary who, expected to be absent most of the time on duty, needed no further provision for his comfort.<sup>140</sup> The congregation in the town consisted of but six families, and was supplemented by as many more from the surrounding county.<sup>141</sup>

In 1850 Richard Vincent Whelan appeared for the last time in Martinsburg as its bishop, and laid the

cornerstone of Saint Joseph's Church.<sup>142</sup> The site for this had been selected with the aid of a small committee by Father Joseph Plunkett,<sup>143</sup> who had succeeded Father John O'Brien as pastor when the latter had retired to his home in Massachusetts in 1848.<sup>144</sup> He also began the stone work on the church, which, for want of means, was shortly suspended.<sup>145</sup>

In December, 1849, Bishop Whelan ordained Rev. Bartholomew Stack, the first of the All Hallows' students to attain the priesthood in Virginia.<sup>146</sup> He was sent to the Northwest to divide labors with Father Grogan, whom he relieved of Weston, Braxton, and the Summerville pastorate, making his home at Weston as its first resident pastor.<sup>147</sup> In 1850 Dennis Brannan and Thomas Mulvey, both sub-deacons, also arrived from Ireland, and were ordained to the priesthood in December at Wheeling.<sup>148</sup>

## VII

Bishop Whelan became convinced that the western part of Virginia, differing in its natural features from the rest of the Commonwealth, offered greater inducements for Catholics to settle, as slave labor was comparatively rare and the country was rapidly developing.<sup>149</sup> He consequently suggested to the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, which met on May 6, 1849, that the Diocese of Richmond be divided into two Sees, one at Richmond and the other at Wheeling, which recommendation the Council forwarded to Rome.<sup>150</sup> Acceding to the wishes of the Council, a Pontifical Brief dated July 23, 1850, created the diocese

of Wheeling, naming Whelan as its first bishop,<sup>151</sup> and appointed the Vicar-General of the Diocese of Louisville, Rev. John McGill, to be Bishop of Richmond.<sup>152</sup> The new see of Wheeling included all of Virginia west of Maryland and the Alleghany Mountains, and the counties of Monroe, Giles, Montgomery, Floyd, and Grayson.<sup>153</sup>

Bishop Whelan relinquished his jurisdiction over eastern Virginia amidst the universal regret of the people of that area.<sup>154</sup> His strenuous labors in the Wheeling diocese up to the time of his death, twenty-four years later, is but a repetition of his extraordinary work in the Diocese of Richmond. He lived to see there forty-eight churches and twenty-nine priests, where he had commenced with two churches and four priests.<sup>155</sup> His death occurred at Saint Agnes' Hospital, Wheeling, on July 7, 1874.<sup>156</sup> A biographer has said of him that he was "the model of his clergy in labor and in virtues."<sup>157</sup>





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## CHAPTER IV

# Dramatic Decade 1850-1860

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*"When Know-Nothingism has become in history a name, as it did once before in the days of Lactantius, the church which you would destroy will still rest immovable upon the Eternal Rock where it was planted and is sustained by the hand of God."*

—JOHN MCGILL, THIRD BISHOP OF RICHMOND.<sup>1</sup>

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## I

THE ten years between the coming of Bishop McGill to the see of Richmond in 1850 and the outbreak of the War Between the States in 1860 are a decade of moving drama. During this period occurred the devastation by yellow fever of Virginia's coastal cities, during which the heroism of the Catholic priests, Devlin and O'Keefe, gave a new meaning to selflessness and valor; during this period the Catholic priest Teeling refused to reveal to a Virginia court a secret confided to him during sacramental confession, and had his silence upheld by the tribunal; during this period the exhortations of the Catholic priest Downey were largely responsible for keeping Irish laborers at the arduous task of constructing a railroad through the bowels of Virginia's mountains; during this period the church weathered a storm of hatred unleashed by one of the most vitriolic gubernatorial campaigns in the long history of the

Commonwealth; during this period, slowly but surely, the progress and growth of the diocese of Richmond continued, while in the background, ever-present in all minds, loomed the shadow of impending conflict and the rapidly approaching agony of a nation in crisis.

## II

John McGill, oldest of the ten children of James and Lavinia Dougherty McGill, natives of Ireland,<sup>2</sup> was born at Philadelphia on November 4, 1809, which year, since it also witnessed the birth of Bishop Whelan, was indeed a propitious one in the annals of American church history.<sup>3</sup> James McGill, who had been born in the County Derry in 1770, had first come to the United States about 1788 and, after having decided to make his permanent home in this country, had returned to the Emerald Isle, where, in the County Donegal, he had married his wife, who had settled with him in Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup> Shortly after the birth of their sixth child, during the winter of 1818-1819, James and Lavinia McGill embarked with their family in a flat-boat at Pittsburgh for the comparatively new land of Kentucky.<sup>5</sup> After several weeks of tedious travel, they landed at Louisville, but the absence of a church in that town and the presence of one at Bardstown, the see and residence of Bishop Flaget, determined them to move to the latter place.<sup>6</sup>

At the age of eleven years, John McGill was one of the first three students to enter the classical course of Saint Joseph's College,<sup>7</sup> Bardstown, from which he was graduated in 1828 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.<sup>8</sup>

After successfully undertaking the study of law under Charles Anderson Wickliffe, a prominent attorney of Bardstown, future governor of Kentucky, and future Postmaster General of the United States, the young McGill commenced a practice at New Orleans, from whence, however, he returned after six months to Bardstown to enter into partnership with Hon. Thomas Chilton.<sup>9</sup> Both at New Orleans and at Bardstown John McGill acquired great reputation at the bar, and his legal training was of tremendous service to him in his later life when, throughout his powerful sermons on dogma, his arrangement of his subjects into points, and his preservation of the plan of a well-digested brief, would enable the most careless auditor to recognize the forensic style of the argument.<sup>10</sup>

This brilliant attorney's decision to abandon a promising career to enter the priesthood created universal astonishment.<sup>11</sup> After having begun his theological studies at Saint Thomas' Seminary in Bardstown,<sup>12</sup> he completed them at Saint Mary's Seminary in Baltimore,<sup>13</sup> and was ordained by the saintly Bishop David at Bardstown on June 13, 1834.<sup>14</sup> After serving as curate of Saint Peter's Church at Lexington,<sup>15</sup> he became assistant to Rev. Martin J. Spalding, afterwards Bishop of Louisville and Archbishop of Baltimore, at the Church of Saint Louis in Louisville,<sup>16</sup> and was then appointed to the pastorate of Kentucky's Lexington parish.<sup>17</sup> He alternated on Sundays with Dr. Spalding at the Bardstown cathedral in giving a remarkable and celebrated course of conferences on the Catholic religion.<sup>18</sup>

In 1838, John McGill made the first of his several visits to Europe, where he was sent by the Coadjutor-Bishop Chabrat of Bardstown to escort the aged Bishop Flaget back to his See.<sup>19</sup> He made a somewhat extended tour, including a long stay at Rome, and his observations were given to his friends at home in a series of published letters.<sup>20</sup> Returned to Kentucky and once again assistant to Dr. Spalding in Louisville, he became editor of the *Catholic Advocate*, in which his clear and convincing articles made a decided impression upon the public mind.<sup>21</sup> At this point he also published a learned criticism of Macaulay's *History of England*,<sup>22</sup> and translated Audin's *Life of Calvin*.<sup>23</sup> When Rev. Ignatius A. Reynolds, who had succeeded Dr. Spalding in the pastorate of Saint Louis Church, was appointed to the episcopal chair of Charleston, Father McGill became pastor of the congregation which he had served as curate.<sup>24</sup> When, in July, 1850, the Pontifical Brief arrived naming him to be bishop of Richmond, he was occupying the position of Vicar-General of the Louisville diocese, to which post he had been named by Bishop Spalding.<sup>25</sup> He was raised to the episcopal rank on November 10, 1850, in St. Joseph's Church at Bardstown, where he had received his first Holy Communion and had been ordained to the priesthood, and where he now had the happiness of conferring his bishop's blessing upon his aged parents.<sup>26</sup> His consecrator was Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of Saint Louis, who was assisted by Bishop Spalding and by Bishop Richard P. Miles of Nashville.<sup>27</sup> Proceeding immediately to his See of Richmond, Bishop McGill established his residence at the rectory of Saint Peter's



Cathedral, being the first Bishop to reside there, since Bishop Kelly had always remained at Norfolk and Bishop Whelan, before going to Wheeling, had always lived at his seminary outside the limits of the city.<sup>28</sup>

### III

The third Bishop of Richmond arrived in that city on Friday, December 6, 1850, and on the following Sunday, preached the first of his brilliant sermons from the pulpit of Saint Peter's.<sup>29</sup> In his diocese he found but ten churches and eight priests,<sup>30</sup> with a scattered Catholic population of between six and seven thousand souls.<sup>31</sup> Nine of these churches, as can be noted from the foregoing narrative, were those of Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Petersburg, Lynchburg, Martinsburg, Winchester, Harper's Ferry, and Bath (now called Berkeley Springs). The tenth was that dedicated to Saint Francis of Assisi which had just been erected at Staunton by Rev. Daniel Downey,<sup>32</sup> who had previously officiated there in the home of Mr. Michael Quinlan on Water Street (now Central Avenue).<sup>33</sup> Five of the priests were Father Timothy O'Brien, pastor of the cathedral, who also attended Petersburg, devoid for a year of a resident priest,<sup>34</sup> Father Hitzelberger at Norfolk, Father Devlin, the Portsmouth pastor who on every third Sunday officiated at Old Point Comfort,<sup>35</sup> Father Plunkett at Martinsburg who also gave of his time to Harper's Ferry, Winchester, Bath, and a small place in Loudoun County called Bolington,<sup>36</sup> and Father Downey, who from Staunton attended also the faithful of Charlottesville, Lexington, and Harrisonburg.<sup>37</sup> Two

others were Rev. John M. Paulhuber, S.J., who had succeeded Father Brauer as pastor of the German congregation of Richmond,<sup>38</sup> and a German priest mentioned by Father Magri as going every three months to Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry to look after his fellow nationals in those places.<sup>39</sup> The eighth was the newly ordained Rev. Thomas Mulvey, who, coming into the diocese with Bishop McGill, was appointed to the pastorate at Lynchburg, vacant since the untimely death of Father Fox the previous August.<sup>40</sup>

The number of priests was almost immediately decreased to seven by the withdrawal from the diocese of the veteran Father Timothy O'Brien, now much in need of rest, to his brother's home in Lowell, Massachusetts, where he died on October 12, 1855.<sup>41</sup> Judge Keiley tells us that the builder of Saint Peter's departed "amidst the universal respect of the people of Richmond of all denominations, and the tears and regrets of Catholics of every age and condition. The sorrow of the orphans, to whom he was ever a most indulgent and affectionate father, was the most affecting incident in this parting."<sup>42</sup> At a meeting of "many male members" of Saint Peter's, held in the basement of the Cathedral, resolutions were adopted which stated in part:

In the nineteen years he has striven for the Church here, he has lifted it up with the help of God from a feeble and languishing existence to its present condition. With his Christian zeal, his spirit of perseverance, were united a cheerfulness and affability in social life which have caused him to be esteemed not only in his own Church, but by the community in which he lived without religious distinction. He has thus

brought the Church as it were through the "Valley of the Shadow of Death" to its present state of comparative prosperity.<sup>43</sup>

Through several very fatal epidemics of cholera Father O'Brien had remained at his post under the most trying circumstances of exposure and fatigue, faithfully ministering to both the spiritual and the temporal wants of a large congregation whose humble circumstances exposed them in a peculiar manner to the disease; he had even been known with his own hands to bury the deserted dead.<sup>44</sup> So poor was this heroic priest when he left the community which he had served so long that his passage to Massachusetts had to be paid for by a parishioner.<sup>45</sup>

Numerous records attest to the fact that the plague of cholera often swept Richmond during the eighteen fifties. Nor were other parts of the Commonwealth immune. In September, 1854, Father Downey wrote to the bishop from Staunton that he had not time to prepare postulants for Confirmation as a number of them had fled away and some were afraid still to come to church although "there has been no case of cholera in town for the last six days."<sup>46</sup> In the same month Father Plunkett wrote that the disease had been raging in Martinsburg for ten days, that seventy deaths had occurred in the little town, but that he had lost "but two of my people, thanks be to God."<sup>47</sup> As horrible as were these visitations of cholera, they paled before the jaundiced spectre of yellow fever which imposed a reign of terror and grief upon Norfolk and Portsmouth in the summer of 1855.

## IV

In mid-June, 1855, the *Ben Franklin*, returned from a voyage to the West Indian Island of Saint Thomas, docked at the wharves of Portsmouth, bearing aboard her a cargo of death, the tropical disease of yellow fever.<sup>48</sup> Under suspicion of being infected, she was placed in quarantine by order of the Health Officer of the Port but was detained for only a few days before being allowed to proceed to Gosport for the purpose of being overhauled.<sup>49</sup> There her bilge-water was pumped out and a portion of her ballast discharged upon the wharf.<sup>50</sup> No apprehension at her presence was entertained until Sunday morning, July the eighth, when a young man, who had been employed aboard her five days previously, developed unmistakable symptoms of yellow fever and died in the afternoon of the same day.<sup>51</sup> The case created intense excitement, and the Town Council, having been convened in extraordinary session, ordered the immediate return of the steamer to the quarantine ground.<sup>52</sup> The precaution, however, had been taken too late, and the pestilence, having gained a firm foothold, spread with fearful rapidity.<sup>53</sup>

The first cases developed in the Gosport area, especially along "Irish Row," on First Street just opposite the shipyard.<sup>54</sup> This neighborhood was found to be in a filthy and crowded condition, and the newly-organized sanitary committee decided that the patients must leave it for healthier quarters.<sup>55</sup> They determined to build a hospital at once in Portsmouth proper, where no case had yet appeared, and not only the carpenters, but the other citizens of the town, went to work with



hammer and nails, completing the building in two days.<sup>56</sup> An unlooked for difficulty arose when the attempt was made to transfer the patients to the hospital, the wretched tenants of "Irish Row" refusing to leave their abodes until their pastor, Father Francis Devlin, came upon the scene to urge them so to do.<sup>57</sup> Then another problem presented itself. Wagons in which to move the poor creatures, and hands to lift them could not be obtained for any consideration, and not until twenty-four hours had passed, a few vehicles having then been procured, were the sufferers lifted from their beds by the doctors themselves, assisted by Rev. James Chisholm, the rector of Saint John's Protestant Episcopal Church, and by Father Devlin.<sup>58</sup>

As the plague continued to spread, it became necessary to take over an old academy as an orphan asylum for the homeless children, who had at first been cared for at the Naval Hospital.<sup>59</sup> Colonel Winchester Watts, who had taken the care of the orphans upon his shoulders, secured the services of the faithful and devoted Sister Isadore from the school in Norfolk.<sup>60</sup> The colonel had great difficulty in finding persons to drive the wagon-loads of children from the hospital to their new home, and finally, with the Sister's aid, resorted to the use of his own carriage, making trip after trip.<sup>61</sup>

At the Naval Hospital, where a ward was set aside for women and children, three other daughters of Saint Vincent from Norfolk, Sisters Isabella, Urbana, and Bruno, volunteered their services.<sup>62</sup> "So quietly did the Sisters of Charity perform their ministrations," wrote Miss Holladay, the historian of Portsmouth, "that they



are in danger of being overlooked in distributing the meed of praise. It was said of them by one who worked with them that they were ministering angels."<sup>63</sup>

In the meanwhile, Father Devlin was indefatigable in his efforts to alleviate the suffering. He often brought food to the sick and arranged their beds;<sup>64</sup> the difficulty of obtaining laborers, who feared personal contagion, often forced him to dig with his own hands the graves for the dead.<sup>65</sup> On the sixteenth of August he wrote to Bishop McGill:

I have been every day at least ten hours, some days twelve or more, among the sick. Every part of the day and night. The disease is not at all abated. How many died here, I cannot say. To the best of my opinion, between sixty and seventy of my congregation, have departed. The Irish, because of their proximity to the infected district, have been the greatest sufferers.

I have been sent for by many Protestants, Whole families have been cut off; some doctors have taken the disease. The fever is very bad in Norfolk. The Sisters are doing admirably in both places.<sup>66</sup>

By his appeals Father Devlin stimulated the charity of Catholics in other parts.<sup>67</sup> On September 4, for example, Father Mulvey wrote from Lynchburg to Bishop McGill that "yesterday we collected a little money in our Church here for the benefit of the sufferers in Norfolk and Portsmouth."<sup>68</sup>

In August, Father Devlin's exhausted body fell victim to an attack of the pestilence, but under medical treatment he rallied.<sup>69</sup> The urgent calls of his afflicted congregation summoned him out in spite of his phy-



RT. REV. RICHARD V. WHELAN, D. D.,  
*Second Bishop of Richmond.*



sician's warning before he had completely recovered, but he was not many days visiting the sick and burying the dead, when he was again prostrated by a second attack of fever.<sup>70</sup> Once again, he rallied.<sup>71</sup> On the thirtieth of the month, a Jesuit from Georgetown, Father Joseph Ashwander, arrived to share his labors and his risks.<sup>72</sup> On October 7, 1855, aged but forty years, Father Francis Devlin, victim of a third attack of the plague, rendered his soul to its Maker, and his memory to a grateful community.<sup>73</sup>

In Norfolk, as Father Devlin had written to the Bishop, the fever was indeed also bad. In 1853, Father Hitzelberger had left that city for the pastorate of Petersburg, and had been succeeded by Father Matthew O'Keefe, a native Irishman from County Waterford lent to the Diocese of Richmond by the Archdiocese of Baltimore.<sup>74</sup> Father O'Keefe was the counterpart of the Portsmouth pastor in his reckless visiting of the sick and burying of the dead, not confining his services to those of his own denomination, but ministering to all, regardless of race or creed.<sup>75</sup> It is related that at this trying period one of the priest's greatest friends and co-workers was Rev. George D. Armstrong, a Presbyterian clergyman, and that these two servants of God had made a compact that, if the plague seized one, the survivor would dig the victim's grave and bury him.<sup>76</sup>

In November, 1855, it was reported in the press that the epidemic in the Tidewater cities had subsided, and that a state of normalcy had returned.<sup>77</sup> However, the yellow fever had carried off one-third of Saint Patrick's congregation at Norfolk,<sup>78</sup> and only twelve of the

parishioners were able to be at Mass on the first Sunday after the fever had passed.<sup>79</sup>

The name of Father O'Keefe was upon every lip and throughout the country his deeds of courage and devotion were heralded from home to home.<sup>80</sup> His name will ever occupy one of the most prominent pages in the history of Norfolk city. As for Father Devlin, a slender white shaft outside Saint Paul's Church at Portsmouth, where his body lies, bears this inscription:

ERECTED  
BY THE CITIZENS OF PORTSMOUTH  
TO THE MEMORY OF  
REVEREND FRANCIS DEVLIN,  
THE HUMBLE PRIEST,  
THE FAITHFUL PASTOR,  
WHO SACRIFICED HIS LIFE  
IN THE CAUSE OF CHARITY  
DURING THE PLAGUE OF 1855.<sup>81</sup>

## V

Another pestilence, as damaging to the mind and spirit as yellow fever was to the body, now descended upon Virginia, the plague of Know-Nothingism.

After the election in 1852 of Franklin Pierce as President of the United States, a secret organization opposed to Catholics and foreign immigrants, the Grand Council of the United States of North America, was formed.<sup>82</sup> Because of the consistent refusal of its members to divulge information concerning it, they were popularly styled Know-Nothings.<sup>83</sup> Each state had its separate organization, and the leading officers were entitled Grand Sachem, Grand First Chief and Grand



Second Chief.<sup>84</sup> In Virginia, the Know-Nothings swallowed up the Whig party, and in March, 1855, nominated Thomas S. Flournoy for governor.<sup>85</sup> The nomination was made at a secret meeting in the town of Winchester, the only occasion in Virginia's history when any party assembled in secrecy to make a state nomination.<sup>86</sup> In his letter of acceptance, Flournoy wrote: "Intimately connected with this question of foreign immigration is the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in our country. Despotic, proscriptive, and intolerant, its ascendancy, as all history teaches, has ever been destructive of freedom and of opinion."<sup>87</sup> His opponent, the candidate of the Democratic party, was Henry A. Wise, a veteran Congressman from this state, member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and a Freemason,<sup>88</sup> who nevertheless declared: "in every character, in every relation, in every sense, with all my head and all my heart and all my might, I protest against this secret organization . . . to proscribe Roman Catholics and naturalized citizens."<sup>89</sup> Wise made a great tour of the Commonwealth, and by his ability and eloquence attracted the attention of the whole nation.<sup>90</sup>

Throughout the North, the campaign in Virginia was watched with interest, for the Know-Nothings, having elected the governors and legislatures of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York, as well as those of California and Kentucky, were determined that the Old Dominion should be their natural gateway to the South.<sup>91</sup>

Bishop McGill was aroused to instant and vigorous action. One month after the nomination of Flournoy,

the prelate found himself addressed by one, James Lyons, who wrote as follows:

Rev. Sir — Having heard and read much declamation against the Catholics, because of the alleged temporal power of the Pope, I take the liberty to inquire of you whether the Catholics in Virginia do acknowledge any temporal allegiance to the Pope; and whether, if this country could be and was assailed or invaded by the army of the Pope (if he had one), or by any other Catholic power, the Catholic citizens of this country, no matter where born, would not be as much bound to defend the Flag of America, her rights and liberty, as any native-born citizen would be; and whether the performance of that duty would conflict with any oath, or vow, or other obligation of the Catholics?<sup>92</sup>

Bishop McGill replied that, unless there were in Virginia some Italians who owed allegiance to the Pope as their temporal prince because they were born in his States and had not become naturalized citizens of this country, there were no Catholics in the Commonwealth who owed any temporal allegiance to the Supreme Pontiff; that, in the event of an invasion of this country by a Papal army or by the forces of any other Catholic power, it was his opinion that all Catholic citizens, regardless of their place of birth, would be conscientiously bound to defend "the flag, rights, liberties of the Republic"; that Catholics, reared in the Church as such, had not the custom of taking any oaths or vows except those taken through godparents at Baptism and again taken at Confirmation to "renounce the Devil, his works and pomps," and that persons converted to the Faith, or those receiving

degrees in theology, might be required to take the oath contained in the creed of Pius IV of obedience to the Pope, not as a temporal prince, but as head of the Church, and that none of these oaths or obligations conflicted "with the duty of a citizen of the United States to defend the flag and liberties of his country."<sup>93</sup>

On Sunday, May 20, 1855, Bishop McGill from the pulpit of Saint Peter's Cathedral read an injunction to the congregation to "respect and obey the constituted authorities, for all power is from God, and they that resist, resist the ordinances of God . . . to the general and State governments you owe allegiance in all that regards the civil order; the authorities of the Church challenge your obedience in the things of salvation."<sup>94</sup>

Political excitement never ran higher in any state than in Virginia in 1855.<sup>95</sup> One of the first speeches of the campaign was a powerful one delivered at Richmond in March by the famous orator, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois.<sup>96</sup> In another speech made at Richmond, Senator R. M. T. Hunter accused the Know-Nothings of proposing to destroy the liberty of conscience itself, by proscribing the members of the Catholic Church from all offices. In ringing words he declared:

But, fellow-citizens, I went a little too far when I said, it was proposed to proscribe Catholics from all offices in this country. There are some offices which the sons and daughters of that Church are still considered competent to discharge. I mean the offices of Christian charity, of ministration to the sick. The Sisters of Charity may enter yonder pest-house, from whose dread portals the bravest and strongest man quails and shrinks; she may breathe there the breath of the pestilence

which walks abroad in that mansion of misery, in order to minister to disease where it is most loathsome, and to relieve suffering where it is most helpless. There, too, the tones of her voice may be heard mingling with the last accents of human despair, to soothe the faltering soul, as she points through the gloom of the dark valley of the shadow of death to the Cross of Christ, . . . and when cholera and yellow fever invades your cities, the Catholic priest may refuse to take refuge in flight, holding the place of the true Soldier of the Cross, to be by the sick man's bed, even though death pervades the air, because he may there tender the ministrations of his holy office to those who need them most.<sup>97</sup>

On May 24, 1855, 156,668 Virginians went to the polls, and gave 83,424 votes to Wise, and 73,244 to Flournoy, thus electing the former by a majority of 10,180 votes.<sup>98</sup> The triumphant march of Know-Nothingism was thenceforward halted, for, in addition to Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi rendered their verdict against the movement.<sup>99</sup>

Bishop McGill, however, was not permitted by the disappointed group to remain at peace. On September 11, 1855, he was accused by Robert Ridgeway, editor of *The Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, of having preached a sermon in which he had ascribed the visitation of yellow fever upon Norfolk and Portsmouth to the "sin" of Know-Nothingism.<sup>100</sup> On September the thirteenth, the *Daily Richmond Enquirer* published the bishop's reply to the libel, which the *Whig* then had the grace to carry on the fourteenth, although not without biting editorial comment. The prelate declared that he had not permitted himself to form the judgment, nor consequently announce to others, that he



considered the "sin" of Know-Nothingism to be the cause of the scourge, but that, were he allowed to judge, he would select that as the "sin of our day, most likely to bring down the anger of heaven. In other words, . . . I am aware of no sin more likely to provoke Heaven, than a secret, oath-bound conspiracy against the Church of God."<sup>101</sup> Ridgeway, in his comment on this, called the bishop a "preacher-politician,"<sup>102</sup> to which McGill, on September the eighteenth, responded:

If to defend the doctrines and interests of the Catholic Church makes me a political parson, I am indeed one, and I shall continue to be while life lasts. But if I have allowed my rights as an American citizen to entertain or defend principles of National or State policy to rest in abeyance, it was not from any doubts about my rights, which I hold to be as extensive as those of the editor of the *Whig*, but simply from the conviction, that the concerns of eternity are more important than those of time, and that by refraining from politics I could make my ministry of greater utility.<sup>103</sup>

Ridgeway called the attention of his readers to this dignified statement by referring them to "an intensely Jesuitical, impertinent, and abusive communication, in another column, from John McGill, Bishop of Richmond," of whom he wrote: "We have taken him under our wing—he is our meat—and we mean to investigate him, and develop him in distinctest colors to the public eye."<sup>104</sup>

"I am under obligation," the bishop wrote of Ridgeway within a few days, "for the editorial remarks with which he ushered before the public my letter to him, as there is an advantage in contrasts. He thinks himself



in a rough and tumble battle, and therefore uses language suited to what is his view of the circumstances. As I do not participate in his pugilistic fancies, I prefer to talk as I would to a gentleman. He will know the difference of the styles when he undertakes to use the one in which I have addressed him."<sup>105</sup>

This seemed only to spur Ridgeway to further lengths. "Bishop McGill," he editorialized, "the impious Catholic prelate who holds sway over the faithful in this city, . . . seems determined, if he can, to acquire an infamous notoriety, and to make himself stink (if he does not already) in the nostrils of the people of the Commonwealth." He then raged on:

We said the other day that we had taken John McGill, Bishop of Richmond, under our wing—that he was "our meat"—and that we meant to "investigate him," and show him off to the people in his true colors. In reply to this his Reverence thinks he will "find reason" after awhile to "change our diet." Well, all we have to say to this suggestion is that we are rather beginning to think so ourselves. We find that the more we investigate and analyze our Richmond "political Bishop," the more offensive his carcass becomes.<sup>106</sup>

With this tirade, the controversy ended. No amount of vituperation could alter the quiet truth of Bishop McGill's assertion in the columns of Richmond's newspapers that "the Catholic Church is no newly devised religion. It has now been in existence for over eighteen hundred years, and Catholics in every part of the world, in every country and clime, and living under every form of government, have continued to recognize the same dogma of the Pope's spiritual supremacy, without

supposing that this, in any way, interfered with their civil allegiance to their respective governments, or countries, as citizens."<sup>107</sup>

In the words of Henry A. Wise to the immense throng of his admirers who called upon him at Brown's Hotel in the city of Washington to congratulate him upon his victorious gubernatorial campaign,<sup>108</sup> John McGill could say: "I have met the Black Knight with his visor down, and his shield and lance are broken."

## VI

In 1856, at Norfolk, and again in 1858, at Portsmouth, disaster, perhaps not unconnected with the outbreak of Know-Nothingism, struck the local Catholic congregation. Saint Patrick's Church in the first-named city was destroyed by fire on December 7, 1856.<sup>109</sup> Saint Paul's at Portsmouth met an identical fate at eleven o'clock on the evening of Thursday, April 28, 1858.<sup>110</sup>

In his diary, Bishop McGill thus described the first catastrophe:

December 7, 1856. Sunday—on this night about 3 after midnight St. Patrick's church was burned down at Norfolk. A house not far off had been fired by an incendiary. From this the church caught, and was entirely consumed. Two valuable paintings, one of the "Crucifixion," copy of Guido's, and presented by the late Miss Ann Herron of Norfolk, the other "The Assumption," presented by Queen Amélie, wife of Louis Philippe, King of France, were lost in the conflagration. The church was insured for \$10,000. The organ, also lost, was insured for \$1,500.00.

The *Metropolitan* estimated the total loss at \$20,000, however, which sum was therefore not covered by the insurance, but stated that, "through the strenuous exertions of the fire companies and the citizens generally a large portion of the furniture of the church was saved."<sup>111</sup>

A tradition among the old Catholic families of Norfolk has it that the church was purposely, and not accidentally, destroyed.<sup>112</sup> Worshipping in Saint Patrick's had been some Negro retainers of the parishioners, and Father O'Keefe had been approached to have segregated services, which he had declined to institute.<sup>113</sup> This had resulted in some of the congregation's having been abused by a gang of ruffians as they had gone to and from the church.<sup>114</sup> Father O'Keefe had then requested police protection, which had been extended for about a month.<sup>115</sup> The assumption is that the fire was set by some of the same group who had previously caused disorder.<sup>116</sup>

On December the seventeenth, a meeting of about fifty men, at which the bishop presided, decided to build a new church, somewhat larger than the former one, for which subscriptions should be solicited by Father O'Keefe throughout the diocese and in other places.<sup>117</sup> The Norfolk pastor turned in particular to his compatriots, the immigrant Irish of New York.<sup>118</sup> On the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1857, Bishop McGill blessed and laid the cornerstone of the new edifice, and on October 2, 1858, he consecrated the high altar.<sup>119</sup> On the following day, October 3, 1858, assisted by Fathers O'Keefe and Plunkett, he blessed

the church, and sang a Pontifical Mass, at which Bishop Lynch of Charleston preached the sermon.<sup>120</sup>

The new Norfolk church was dedicated to Saint Mary of the Immaculate Conception, and was the first church to bear that name after the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pius IX.<sup>121</sup> The plans for it are said to have been devised by the architect of New York's Saint Patrick's Cathedral, but were altered by Father O'Keefe so that the building should resemble his native parish church of Saint John in Waterford, Ireland.<sup>122</sup> The steeple is the oldest now in Norfolk, and the only one which boasts a clock, an instrument which for many years was kept in repair by the civil authorities and which long regulated community living.<sup>123</sup> In the building of Saint Mary's, Father O'Keefe had asked for a contribution of labor where money was not available.<sup>124</sup> The Irish laborers employed at the local gas works had each contributed a day's work on the project.<sup>125</sup> The total cost of the undertaking was sixty-five thousand dollars, and the congregation was left badly in debt.<sup>126</sup> From 1858 until 1874, Father O'Keefe drew no salary while this debt was being reduced.<sup>127</sup>

The church at Portsmouth, destroyed in 1858, had been erected by Father Devlin after a severe storm had damaged the roof of the old church, and its cornerstone had been laid on Tuesday, June 24, 1851.<sup>128</sup> It had been dedicated on February 13, 1853,<sup>129</sup> and on the sixteenth of June of that year Bishop McGill had preached in it.<sup>130</sup> It was a handsome brick edifice, built and ornamented in Gothic style, and, insured for ten thousand dollars, it had been erected at a cost of

twenty-eight thousand.<sup>131</sup> On December 16, 1856, Bishop McGill had dedicated its high altar.<sup>132</sup>

In January, 1856, in succession to the heroic Father Devlin, Father Joseph Plunkett had come from Martinsburg to assume the pastorate of this church.<sup>133</sup> On the twenty-ninth of that month, he had written to Bishop McGill: "I am, so far, much pleased with my new congregation. The pews have been rented and almost every seat in church is taken. I was agreeably surprised to see such a large congregation on Sunday."<sup>134</sup> In November, 1857, Bishop McGill had administered the Sacrament of Confirmation in this church to eighty-one persons, eight of them converts.<sup>135</sup>

The destructive flames of April 28, 1858, might have been suppressed had not the hose of the "Independent" and the "Resolution" Fire Companies been maliciously cut.<sup>136</sup> Miss Holladay, the historian of Portsmouth, does not attribute it, however, to an anti-Catholic source, but says that it proved "to be the work of men who were plotting to get some of their companions out of jail. The city and county jail at this time was on the opposite corner to the church, . . . The plan of the incendiaries was to start a fire in the church and cause an excitement which would direct attention from their plans to reach and free the prisoners. The prisoners escaped."<sup>137</sup>

The congregation assembled thereafter on every Sunday for some time at a public place called Oxford Hall, the proprietor of the building generously refusing any compensation for its use.<sup>138</sup> Father Plunkett journeyed to New York to attempt to raise funds for a new church. Day after day, he travelled the city, appealing with



varied success to wealthy individuals. Night after night, he addressed various societies in their respective halls, meeting with a liberal response.<sup>139</sup> On Sunday, June 5, 1859, Bishop McGill laid the cornerstone of a new building, the construction of which was rapidly approaching completion when the War Between the States put an end to further progress.<sup>140</sup>

## VII

In spite of tribulations the Catholic Church made definite forward strides in Virginia after 1850. This was especially noticeable in the capital city.

In 1852 Bishop McGill purchased the house and lot adjoining his cathedral on Grace Street, Richmond, and into this he moved with his Vicar-General, Rev. John Teeling, who had come into the diocese after the departure of Father Timothy O'Brien.<sup>141</sup> In 1855, having determined to enlarge and beautify Saint Peter's, the bishop had the former rectory in the rear of the cathedral razed, and the church and sanctuary extended over the space previously occupied by the house.<sup>142</sup> At this time the galleries, other than the already existing choir gallery, were also constructed, and on August 30, 1855, the handsome marble altar of today was dedicated.<sup>143</sup>

In 1851, Father Paulhuber opened at Richmond a school for the German Catholic children.<sup>144</sup> Also in 1851 two lots at Fourth and Marshall Streets, opposite to Saint Joseph's Orphan Asylum, were purchased by the German congregation.<sup>145</sup> On one of these, bordering on Fourth Street, was a dwelling house which was

later converted into a rectory; St. Mary's German Church, facing Marshall Street, was begun on the lot adjoining the rectory.<sup>146</sup> The cornerstone of this church was laid on June 8, 1851, and on December the fourteenth of the same year, the church itself was solemnly blessed by Bishop McGill.<sup>147</sup>

In 1852, Father Paulhuber left Richmond and was succeeded by Rev. Joseph Polk, S.J., who, in the basement of the German Church, founded Saint Mary's School for Boys.<sup>148</sup> In May, 1859, three School Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters Mary V. Seraphine Pronath, Frances Borgia Fuhrman, and Fabiana Weber came from Milwaukee to take charge of a parochial school for the German boys and girls.<sup>149</sup> A building which served as a convent for the Sisters and as a day school for the larger girls was erected on the west side of Fourth Street between Clay and Leigh Streets, the small girls and boys being taught in the basement of the church.<sup>150</sup> From 1859 to 1868 nine Notre Dame Sisters taught in Richmond.<sup>151</sup>

In 1860, Saint Mary's Church was transferred from the care of the Society of Jesus to that of the Order of Saint Benedict, and on August 5 of that year, Rev. Leonard Mayer, O.S.B., was installed as its first Benedictine pastor.<sup>152</sup> Father Polk, after his departure from Richmond, was sent to Australia, where, after doing missionary work for forty-six years, he died at the advanced age of ninety-four on February 3, 1914, having been a member of the Jesuit Society for seventy-five years.<sup>153</sup>

In the meanwhile, convinced of the need for a place of worship in the eastern part of the city of Richmond,

Bishop McGill, in January and in March, 1859, purchased four lots, on the eastern side of Twenty-fifth Street, between Broad and Grace Streets, and there he began at once the building of Saint Patrick's Church.<sup>154</sup> On Whitsunday, June 12, 1859, the bishop laid the cornerstone of the edifice.<sup>155</sup> On this occasion, according to Richmond's *Daily Dispatch*, he "delivered a clear and forcible address, from a platform created for the purpose," and a collection taken up among the large crowd present amounted to "between two and three hundred dollars."<sup>156</sup> Completed that same year, the church was dedicated on Sunday morning, November the eleventh, the speaker on that occasion being a Redemptorist priest, Father Jacobs.<sup>157</sup>

The Vicar-General, Father Teeling, who served this new parish for the next two years, and was installed as its pastor in May, 1861,<sup>158</sup> was a witness in October, 1859,<sup>159</sup> the year of yellow fever and Know-Nothingism, in a legal case which involved the inviolability of the confessional. A man named John Cronin, impelled by jealousy, fatally wounded his wife, whose deathbed confession was heard by Father Teeling.<sup>160</sup> The priest called to testify in the murder trial of the husband, was asked by the counsel for defense to give the substance of the wife's confession, which the defense hoped would prove her infidelity.<sup>161</sup> He refused to comply, declaring that "any statement made in her sacramental confession, whether inculpatory or exculpatory, of the prisoner, I am not at liberty to reveal."<sup>162</sup> The question was again and again put in various forms, but Father Teeling consistently refused to answer. At length, in a short address, he explained to the court the obligation

of secrecy which the Church imposes upon confessors.<sup>163</sup> Judge John A. Meredith then ruled that "any infringement upon the tenets of any denomination is a violation of the fundamental law, which guarantees perfect freedom to all classes in the exercise of religion. To encroach upon the confessional, which is well understood to be regarded as a fundamental tenet in the Catholic Church, would be to ignore the Bill of Rights, so far as it is applicable to that Church. In view of these circumstances, as well as of other considerations, connected with the subject, I feel no hesitation in ruling that a priest enjoys a privilege of exemption from revealing what is communicated to him in the confessional."<sup>164</sup> This decision became afterwards popularly known as "The Teeling Law."<sup>165</sup>

On May 26, 1860, the Infirmary of Saint Francis de Sales was founded on Brook Avenue, Richmond, and placed in the charge of the Sisters of Charity.<sup>166</sup> This was the second such institution in the diocese for, on March 3, 1856, Saint Vincent's Hospital at Norfolk had been founded and also relegated to the supervision of the Sisters of Charity.<sup>167</sup> The nucleus of Saint Vincent's was a private residence, the property of Dr. James H. Behan and his sister, Miss Ann Herron, the adopted daughter of Walter Herron, nineteenth century merchant prince of the Tidewater area.<sup>168</sup> During the yellow fever epidemic, Miss Herron had thrown open the doors of the stately mansion to the distressed, while helping whom she herself fell a victim to the plague.<sup>169</sup> Her dying charge, executed by Dr. Behan, was that the property should be dedicated to hospital purposes.<sup>170</sup>



RT. REV. JOHN MCGILL, D. D.,  
*Third Bishop of Richmond.*





Catholic education in Richmond also grew apace during this decade. When Bishop McGill first came to the city, Saint Joseph's School and Orphan Asylum was under the care of six sisters, and there were ninety pupils, of whom ten were boarders, and fourteen orphans.<sup>171</sup> By 1857, the enrollment in the free school had increased to one hundred and thirty, and, in the Academy, to one hundred and twenty-five, and the number of orphans had grown to sixty-five.<sup>172</sup> Up to this year, the orphans had been cared for at the cost of some inconvenience to the Sisters, who deprived themselves cheerfully enough of much needed rooms and sleeping quarters.<sup>173</sup> In 1857, this condition was remedied when the Asylum proper was built, giving ample room for both the orphans and the boarders attending the Academy.<sup>174</sup> This addition was on Marshall Street, adjacent to the original property, and was constructed at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars.<sup>175</sup>

In addition to Saint Joseph's, there were also in Richmond the free schools for the German boys and girls which have already been noted, and a school for boys in the basement of Saint Peter's Cathedral.<sup>176</sup> This school, under the supervision of Father Teeling, was taught in 1854 by Mr. Peter R. Oates.<sup>177</sup> Its scholastic year consisted of "at least ten months and a half, leaving six weeks for vacations, viz: the month of August, and one week at Christmas, and one week at Easter, for which deduction will be made in payments, as the terms are made most moderate."<sup>178</sup> These terms, "according to the branches studied, will be \$7, \$5, or \$3 per quarter, payable in advance, or at least before the middle of the quarter."<sup>179</sup> The sessions of the school

lasted from eight in the morning until noon, and from two until four-thirty in the afternoon.<sup>180</sup> No pupils were received or dismissed without the approbation of the Bishop or of the directors.<sup>181</sup> These latter must have been members of the Young Catholic's Friend Society, under whose auspices, according to Father Magri, the school was conducted.<sup>182</sup> This organization flourished also at the time in Petersburg,<sup>183</sup> which fact recalls our attention to the general progress of the Church in those parts of the diocese outside the city of Richmond.

## VIII

When in 1855 Father Thomas Mulvey replaced at Petersburg Father Hitzelberger, who then entered the Society of Jesus,<sup>184</sup> one of the Petersburg Catholics wrote to Bishop McGill: "No pastor of my Church has fulfilled the Sacred Duties of his Divine Mission more conscientiously and with more devotion and faithfulness than Father Hitzelberger, evidently shown by the many wonders he has effected in the short time he has been amongst us. Our church has been completely renovated, our congregation has doubled, a school room has been built to give Religious instructions to 50 to 60 children living heretofore in ignorance."<sup>185</sup>

At Lynchburg, Father Mulvey, who had established a parochial school in that town,<sup>186</sup> was succeeded in January, 1856, by Rev. James McGovern, who had been ordained at Saint Peter's by Bishop McGill on September 11, 1855.<sup>187</sup> During his pastorate, a mission, the first ever given in Lynchburg, was conducted by a Dominican priest, Father McGrath, assisted by Father Teeling.<sup>188</sup>

A Redemptorist, Father Walworth, had at this period also conducted several successful missions in the diocese. On Thursday morning, April 17, 1856, the *South-Side Democrat* of Petersburg reported:

Pure Eloquence. During the last three or four evenings, the Catholic Church on Washington Street has been crowded with persons of all denominations, to listen to the discourses of the Rev. Mr. Walworth, one of the Redemptorist Fathers, now on a mission in this city. This gentleman had formerly belonged to the Episcopal Church. He is young, and one of the most persuasive orators that has yet been heard in Petersburg. His discussions on Mortal Sin, Death and Eternal Judgment, were among the most eloquent and extemporaneous gems of admonitory eloquence we ever listened to, and were suitable and applicable.<sup>189</sup>

On this same Redemptorist, Michael Glennan, of Norfolk, wrote in his *Reminiscences of Boyhood*:

Father Walworth was a wonderful orator. His eloquence was of the highest order and his discourses were powerful in their effect. He was a man of striking appearance, tall, straight as an arrow, with a well-built and sinewy frame, a splendid head and a face strictly classical. He would command attention anywhere. On the altar, however, in his dark flowing robe, with beads hanging from his girdle, and with cross in hand, preaching "Christ and Him Crucified," he was indeed the personification of a great missionary.<sup>190</sup>

In 1858 Father McGovern was succeeded at Lynchburg by Rev. Oscar A. Sears, who remained for seven consecutive years, and, in 1859, purchased a rectory at a cost of \$1,650.<sup>191</sup>

Father Sears was a native of Alexandria, Virginia, and a convert from the Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>192</sup> Having determined to enter the priesthood, he had begun to train as a Jesuit, but, leaving the Society of Jesus, he had offered himself instead as a secular priest to the Diocese of Richmond.<sup>193</sup> Bishop McGill had made him his sacristan and, after some months, had sent him to Georgetown College.<sup>194</sup> A serious illness had forced him to leave this institution, and he had resumed his studies in Richmond at the episcopal residence, obtaining his philosophy from Father Teeling, and his theology, from the bishop.<sup>195</sup> After having been examined in these subjects by Fathers Teeling and Downey, assisted by two Jesuits, Ashwander and Nota, he had, on Monday, October 13, 1856, received four minor orders at Saint Peter's from Bishop McGill.<sup>196</sup> On the following two days, he had been raised to the sub-deaconate and to the diaconate, Fathers Teeling and Plunkett assisting at these ceremonies.<sup>197</sup> On March 7, 1857, he had been ordained priest by Bishop McGill.<sup>198</sup> First stationed at the Cathedral, he had served briefly at Martinsburg before going to Lynchburg.<sup>199</sup>

About 1853, during the pastorate of Father Plunkett, afterwards of Portsmouth, the Martinsburg mission had been divided, Father Plunkett having retained Martinsburg and Bath, while Harper's Ferry and Winchester had been turned over to the care of Rev. Andrew Talty, who had elected to come into the Richmond Diocese from that of Wheeling.<sup>200</sup> In September, 1855, Rev. L. E. Leonard, a native of Ireland, had come into the diocese and, after having assisted Father Teeling at



the cathedral for a year, had been in 1856 transferred to Martinsburg in succession to Father Plunkett.<sup>201</sup> He remained there, however, only six months, and was succeeded by Rev. John Kenny, who remained for two years.<sup>202</sup> Therefore, when Father Sears was in Martinsburg, he must have been Father Kenny's assistant. In 1858, Father Talty of Harper's Ferry was installed as the Martinsburg pastor.<sup>203</sup> During Father Talty's time, a young man of Protestant Episcopal faith, a graduate of the University of Virginia, and a teacher in the local academy, became a convert to Catholicism and left to prepare himself for the priesthood.<sup>204</sup> The year 1861 found him back in Martinsburg as pastor in succession to Father Talty, who had been recalled to Richmond.<sup>205</sup> Young Father Becker, one of the finest linguists in the country, was destined to become in succession Bishop of Wilmington, Delaware, and of Savannah, Georgia.

Father Talty had been succeeded at Harper's Ferry by Rev. Michael A. Costello, a brilliant young priest who also, of course, attended the Winchester mission.<sup>206</sup> On February 12, 1858, Father Costello wrote to Bishop McGill that the church at Winchester was "well attended by the Catholics of the country surrounding it," but that there were "very few Catholics living in the town, no more than five or six families;" he estimated the total membership of that congregation at "about two hundred," for whom he said Mass "the fourth Sunday of each month."<sup>207</sup> In August, 1859, he wrote that he went to Winchester "on the second Sunday of the month."<sup>208</sup>

In the meanwhile, at Staunton, Father Downey was performing an important service to his adopted state. Without the aid of pneumatic drills, efficient earth-moving machinery, or even dynamite, the Blue Ridge Railroad Company, a corporation owned entirely by the Commonwealth of Virginia, was constructing a tunnel through the flinty backbone of the Blue Ridge.<sup>209</sup> About four hundred feet below the level of Rockfish Gap, working from the two sides of the mountain at the same time toward a charted meeting-spot in its center, gangs of Irish laborers chipped away for about eight years at greenstone, granite, and quartz with hand-drills, picks, and black powder.<sup>210</sup> Most of these workmen came from County Cork, and the shanties for their families were built near each end of the bore.<sup>211</sup> In 1853, labor unrest produced troubles when the workmen demanded that they receive one dollar and fifty cents per day instead of seventy-five cents.<sup>212</sup> Colonel Claudius Crozet, the French engineer and veteran of Napoleon's "Grande Armée" who was supervising the project, favored putting down lawlessness with a strong hand, and, at his request, Governor Joseph Johnson ordered a company of light infantry in Staunton to hold itself in readiness to march to the tunnel.<sup>213</sup> "The most potent force in preventing disturbances," writes Miss Elizabeth Dabney Coleman, the able historian of Virginia's railroads, "was probably the Roman Catholic priest at Staunton. He was a sympathetic shepherd to the Irish, but at all times he strove to keep his flock from violence. Crozet later testified to the good influence of Father Downey."<sup>214</sup> Early in January, 1857, the passage through the mountain was cleared, and on

April 13, 1858, the first train ran through the long hole in the ground.<sup>215</sup> So well was the job done that trains used it continuously until April 12, 1944, when a new and larger tunnel was put in service.<sup>216</sup>

In the presidential election of 1857, fifty of the Irish laborers, probably protesting against the Know-Nothing Party's opposition to immigrants and to Catholicism, voted the Democratic ticket.<sup>217</sup> The Staunton *Spectator*, a Whig newspaper, resented their participation:

These men, having no interest in the community, mere floaters, here today and gone tomorrow, utterly ignorant of the issues involved in the election, and unacquainted with the first principles of Republican government, come up out of the bowels of the earth and overwhelm the intelligent native-born citizens of Augusta. . . .<sup>218</sup>

In 1857, Staunton, with its mission of Harrisonburg, reverted to the care of the Lynchburg pastor who served it until 1859.<sup>218</sup> From 1859 until 1861, the congregation was served from either Lynchburg or Richmond, from whence Father Teeling sometimes came.<sup>220</sup> In 1861, Rev. Joseph Bixio, S.J., became its pastor and remained through the war years.<sup>221</sup>

At Portsmouth, about July, 1858, Father Plunkett received an assistant in the person of Father J. Brady, who had served at Saint Peter's Cathedral since January of that year.<sup>222</sup> Father Brady's successor, in March, 1859, as curate at the cathedral was Rev. Robert A. Andrews, a native of Westmoreland County, Virginia, who had studied at Princeton for the Presbyterian ministry before becoming a Catholic.<sup>223</sup> Like Father Sears, he had made his studies for the priesthood at

the episcopal residence.<sup>224</sup> He was ordained by the bishop on March 13, 1859, at Saint Peter's Cathedral, where he assisted during the next six years.<sup>225</sup>

## IX

Not only did already established congregations flourish under Bishop McGill, but in the decade before the outbreak of the war churches were begun at Fredericksburg, Faifax Station, Warrenton, and Fort Monroe, and the already large parish at Alexandria was handed over to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Richmond.

The construction of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad had been commenced in 1844, and, during the construction of the railroad bridge across the Rappahannock, Rev. Timothy O'Brien is known to have come from Richmond to say Mass for the Irish laborers.<sup>226</sup> Mass was next celebrated at Fredericksburg in 1854 at the home of Mr. John Solon by Father Joseph Bixio, S.J., who afterwards officiated at a public hall on Charlotte Street.<sup>227</sup> It was not, however, until June, 1856, when Bishop McGill preached "a sermon of unusual ability and power" at the Court House, that the Catholics of the town had any organization.<sup>228</sup> In 1857, the congregation rented the town hall from the City Council, and for the next two years Mass was celebrated in this building, at first, about once every three months, and, during the latter part of that period, as frequently as once a month, Fathers Teeling and Sears and Bishop McGill being known to have been among the celebrants.<sup>229</sup>



In 1858, steps were begun toward the erection of a church, and contributions to the building fund were general, Dr. James Behan of Norfolk, for example, donating twenty-five dollars,<sup>230</sup> as well as an additional five hundred dollars, the purchase price of the church lot.<sup>231</sup> On Sunday, January 27, the cornerstone was laid by Bishop McGill, assisted by Father John Brady, afterwards the Portsmouth curate.<sup>232</sup> The following year saw the completion of the church, which was dedicated by Bishop McGill on Sunday, March 20, 1859.<sup>233</sup> Father Andrews, the curate of Saint Peter's, evidently was assigned to the charge of this parish, for he attended it from January 16, 1860, until April 8, 1862.<sup>234</sup>

On September 18, 1858, Bishop McGill "blessed and laid the cornerstone of a small frame church at Fairfax Station about 18 miles from Alexandria on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad," where he preached and said mass.<sup>235</sup> On Sunday, September 23, 1860, the bishop dedicated this finished church, and, one week later, on Sunday, September 30, he had the happiness of dedicating the new church at Martinsburg.<sup>236</sup> On July 16, 1860, the Bishop had blessed and laid the cornerstone of the Church of Saint John the Evangelist at Warrenton in Fauquier County.<sup>237</sup>

On September 9, 1860, Bishop McGill laid the cornerstone of the Church of Saint Mary, Star-of-the-Sea, at Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort.<sup>238</sup> *The Catholic Mirror* recorded that the site had been given by the Secretary of War, it being within the public domain, and commented as follows:

Officers and soldiers of the garrison, residents of the "Point" and citizens of the neighboring city of Hampton, will compose



the congregation, to which, during the summer season, numbers will be added to this popular resort. Neat in design, and immediately opposite Willard's large hotel, the chapel will be an ornament to the place.<sup>239</sup>

In his "Record of Things to be Noted Regarding the Diocese," Bishop McGill, on October 6, 1858, wrote: "I have received a letter from Cardinal Barnabo announcing that the Holy See had transferred to the Diocese of Richmond the church and town of Alexandria. The rescript bears date, August 15th, 1858."<sup>240</sup> This was a logical action on the part of Rome, for, twelve years before, in 1846, the city of Alexandria, until that time a part of the District of Columbia, had been receded to the Commonwealth of Virginia.<sup>241</sup>

Father Francis Neale of Georgetown College, brother to the future Archbishop, had erected a church in Alexandria in 1796, prior to which time the home of Washington's Catholic aide-de-camp and secretary, Colonel John Fitzgerald, one-time mayor of the town, had been used as a meeting-place by his co-religionists.<sup>242</sup> This church, to the building fund for which Washington himself had contributed, had been the first permanent place of Catholic worship in the Old Dominion, since Alexandria had not been absorbed into the District of Columbia until 1800.<sup>243</sup> It had been abandoned in 1810 when a little Methodist meeting-house at Chapel Alley on Duke Street, with a small parsonage adjoining it, had been purchased.<sup>244</sup>

Two years prior to its incorporation into the Richmond diocese, Saint Mary's Church had been enlarged and beautified. The parish boasted a "classical school" which, founded by the Jesuits, flourished long under

the charge of Mr. Richard Carne, afterwards Father Carne, the earliest historian of the parish.<sup>246</sup> In addition to this there was a Sunday School, which was particularly well attended in its "female department."<sup>247</sup>

When, in 1858, the Bishop of Richmond assumed jurisdiction over Saint Mary's, the Jesuits continued in active charge of the parish, the pastors being selected by their Provincial and approved by the Bishop.<sup>248</sup> The first pastor under this system was Rev. Peter Kroes, S.J., a native of the Netherlands, who was the incumbent at the time of the transfer.<sup>249</sup> Father Kroes may be regarded as the founder of Saint Mary's Church at Fairfax Station which he erected for the Irish railroad workers and which has already been mentioned as having been dedicated by Bishop McGill on September 23, 1860.<sup>250</sup> During his pastorate at Alexandria, Saint Mary's Hall, which later was to become Saint Mary's School, was erected by the Young Catholics' Friend Society,<sup>251</sup> and was dedicated by the bishop on February 22, 1859.<sup>252</sup>

## X

Bishop McGill's reputation for learning and eloquence travelled far beyond the limits of his diocese and caused him to be in great demand as a speaker. He was called upon, in April, 1851, to deliver the funeral eulogy over Archbishop Eccleston at the Baltimore Cathedral;<sup>253</sup> the following year he preached at the dedication of Saint Joseph's Church at Providence, Rhode Island,<sup>254</sup> in the Baltimore Cathedral, on August 2, 1857, he spoke at the consecration as bishop of Rev. John Barry, the newly appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Florida;<sup>255</sup> at the consecration in Savannah on March

14, 1858, of Bishop Patrick Lynch, he delivered a profound discourse on the form and government of the Church.<sup>256</sup> In 1854, he was summoned to Rome by Pope Pius IX, on the occasion of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the first of three visits which he paid to the Chair of Saint Peter during his episcopate.<sup>257</sup> While on his visit, he purchased for his cathedral in Richmond two valuable oil paintings, a "Crucifixion" and a "Pieta," the latter considered a rare work of art.<sup>258</sup> He attended the First Plenary Council of the American Hierarchy in 1852, which consolidated all the legislation which had been passed in the various provincial assemblies up to that time, the most important step made up to that point to achieve the uniformity of religious life in the United States.<sup>259</sup> The bishop also took a prominent part in the Eighth Council of Baltimore, which was convened in the Cathedral of that city on May 5, 1855.<sup>260</sup>

Bishop McGill convened the first diocesan synod ever held in Virginia at Saint Peter's in Richmond on the morning of October the fourteenth, 1855.<sup>261</sup> The following were its officers: Very Rev. John Teeling, D.D., V.G., Promotor, Rev. Daniel Downey, Procurator Cleri, Rev. J. Ashwander, S.J., and Rev. L. Nota, S.J., Consultores, Rev. J. Polk, S.J., Secretarius, and Mr. Oscar Sears, then a seminarian, Magister Caeremoniarum.<sup>262</sup> The remaining clergy present were Fathers Plunkett, Mulvey, Talty, and McGovern.<sup>263</sup> The first care of the bishop during the synod was to renew the statutes of Bishop Whelan and to promulgate the decrees of the Baltimore Council; he chose Saint Vincent de Paul as patron of the diocese and strongly advocated devotion

to the Immaculate Conception.<sup>264</sup> The synod urged that aged and helpless priests be provided for; passed decrees concerning faculties, dress and mode of living of the diocesan clergy; property of churches was not to be held in the individual names of the parish priests; registers of parochial affairs were to be kept accurately; the Forty Hours' Devotion and pious confraternities were to be instituted in the parishes.<sup>265</sup> The erection of schools wherever possible was encouraged.<sup>266</sup>

Ever mindful of the spiritual as well as of the temporal welfare of his clergy, Bishop McGill opened an ecclesiastical retreat of six days' length in his private chapel at Richmond on October 8, 1855,<sup>267</sup> which was conducted by Rev. L. Nota, S.J., who gave the instructions, and Rev. J. Ashwander, S.J., who supervised the meditations.<sup>268</sup> In addition to the bishop himself, those present were Fathers Teeling, Downey, Mulvey, Plunkett, Talty, McGovern, and Mr. Sears, Fathers O'Keefe and Polk being permitted to be absent because both had recently made a similar retreat.<sup>269</sup>

On October 3, 1860, the bishop recorded that he and his clergy had made another retreat, this one at Baltimore with the priests of that city, under the direction of Bishop John Timon, of Buffalo.<sup>270</sup> This was probably the last time the chief shepherd of Virginia and his helpers were gathered together before a raging storm burst upon their little flock. While they were praying in peace and for peace, the clouds were gathering ominously, and at four-thirty in the morning of April 12, 1861, the guns of South Carolina fired upon Fort Sumter and signified the breaking of the tempest upon her sister states.





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## CHAPTER V

# Fire and Sword and Bitter Ash

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*"The fortunes and fate of our beloved country are now trembling in the scales, and we know not what ruins and disasters may be impending. Our chief hope is in the merciful providence of God. Let us pray to Him who holdeth in His hands the fate of nations, to control events, so as to conduce to His own greater honor and glory, and to the greater good of the people."*

—JOHN MCGILL, THIRD BISHOP OF RICHMOND.<sup>1</sup>

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### I

IN December, 1860, South Carolina had seceded from the Federal Union.<sup>2</sup> "Times are threatening," Archbishop Kenrick had then written to Bishop McGill, "but I still hope for the permanency of the Union. It is suicidal to separate."<sup>3</sup> But the process of separation had continued. By February, 1861, seven states had seceded, and a meeting of delegates was being held at Montgomery, Alabama, to form the Confederacy.<sup>4</sup> Virginia, however, had not yet acted, and, on February the fourteenth, the Archbishop of Baltimore had again written that he was "full of hopes for the Union. Much is due to old Virginia."<sup>5</sup> On the fourth day of that second month of 1861, a peace conference of the states had met at

Washington, and on that occasion Bishop McGill had directed that the collect for peace be read in all Masses throughout the diocese until Holy Week.<sup>6</sup>

Two months later, the news of Fort Sumter occasioned great excitement throughout the Commonwealth. The *Richmond Dispatch* reported that on Saturday, April the fourteenth, its office and those of the *Enquirer* and *Examiner*, as well as many other public and private places, "testified to the general joy by brilliant illumination."<sup>7</sup>

On April the fifteenth, the Virginia Convention received news of President Lincoln's proclamation calling on the states of the Union for troops.<sup>8</sup> Virginia had hoped that her geographic position between two hostile groups would enable her to mediate between them, but Lincoln's call for an army to coerce the Southern states had forced her to abandon this position and to join her forces with one side or the other.<sup>9</sup> Late in the night of April the seventeenth, the die was cast: the Virginia Convention passed the Ordinance of Secession.<sup>10</sup>

On the following Sunday, April the twenty-first, Father Teeling, from the pulpit of Saint Peter's Cathedral, exhorted his hearers "to stand firm in the assertion of their rights," and the usual prayer for the president and people of the United States being omitted, another for the Governor and people of Virginia was substituted.<sup>11</sup>

## II

To attempt to chronicle here the names and deeds of the many individual Catholics of the diocese who served the Confederate cause would be both physically

impossible and beyond the scope of this work. However, some mention must be made of "The Montgomery Guard," otherwise known as Company C of the "Old First" Virginia Infantry Regiment, which was composed of young Catholic men of Irish birth or descent from the city of Richmond and Henrico County.<sup>12</sup>

This organization had been formed twelve years before the war, in September, 1849, by John Dooley,<sup>13</sup> the head of a wealthy and popular family, whose home was "the recognized center of a social group whose importance has never been appreciated—the Irish-American of the pre-war South."<sup>14</sup> The guardsmen bore pikes, weapons with a shaft and spear-head, which had been blessed by Bishop McGill at a solemn celebration in the basement of Saint Peter's Cathedral.<sup>15</sup>

On April 22, 1861, the company paraded and, on the following day, the *Dispatch* was moved to comment:

The Montgomery Guard under Captain John Dooley is composed mainly, if not entirely, of citizens of Virginia of Irish birth, who have espoused the cause of their adopted state with the devoted earnestness characteristic of the generous-hearted people of which they are the representatives. As a general thing, nowhere located, the South has ever found true friends in Irishmen.<sup>16</sup>

Under the command of Captain Dooley, in his uniform of vivid green with gorgeous gold stars and bars,<sup>17</sup> and with Father Teeling as chaplain,<sup>18</sup> the Montgomery Guard left Richmond for Manassas Gap at noon on Saturday, May 25, 1861, embarking on railroad cars at the Central Fair Grounds.<sup>19</sup> Its members "were bade adieu to by hundreds of relatives and

friends. While the soldiers went off with cheerful spirits and light hearts, in all directions among the crowd, assembled in the grounds about the cars, could be seen evidence of a painful separation, in the shape of grief and tears. The heartfelt, tearful words, "God Bless You," were mingled with the hope of a safe return."<sup>20</sup> Every musket was adorned with a bouquet of flowers, and everywhere en route the ladies were assembled—at Ashland, Frederick's Hall, Talerville, Louisa Court House, to bestow tokens of affection in the form of more flowers or cakes or candy or pin cushions.<sup>21</sup>

On July 18, 1861, the Montgomery Guard received its baptism of fire when, with the remainder of the "Old First," it met the Federal advance at Bull Run.<sup>22</sup> After firing a few volleys, the regiment retreated in good order, drawing the Federals behind them into an exposed position, whereupon the Virginians turned around and forced their opponents back.<sup>23</sup> Reinforced by Sherman's Brigade, with the famous Sixty-ninth in advance, the northern forces again attacked and were again repulsed.<sup>24</sup> "Thus it was," wrote the historians of the "Old First," that our great Civil War was actually begun by two of the most famous fighting regiments of the Western Hemisphere—the First Virginia and the 69th New York, with the "Old First" master of the field at the close of the day, holding it against two brigades, one being veteran regulars."<sup>25</sup> This engagement is regarded by military commentators to have been of considerable importance because of the spirit of confidence which it created within the Confederate Army.<sup>26</sup>

The "Montgomery Guard" remained with its distinguished regiment from Bull Run to Appomattox Court House, being with it at Williamsburg, when it captured Webster's Battery and a large battle flag, at Gettysburg, where it occupied the center of Kemper's Brigade during Pickett's charge, and near Petersburg, where, in May, 1864, in combination with the Seventh Virginia Regiment, it broke through the Federals' right wing, destroying the celebrated "Star Brigade," and captured over two thousand prisoners.<sup>27</sup>

So far as can be ascertained, ten guardsmen lost their lives in battle: Captain James Holleran, who was killed at Gettysburg,<sup>28</sup> Sergeant P. Rankin, and Privates Michael Consadine, James Driscoll, John H. Donahoe, Samuel Gillespie, Pat Keeting, Thomas Kavenaugh, Timothy Purcell, and Michael Redmond.<sup>29</sup> James H. Dooley, afterwards the most generous philanthropist in Richmond's history, who enlisted in his father's command in 1862, was wounded and captured at Williamsburg in May of that year, and, exchanged in August, served to the end of the war as a lieutenant of ordnance;<sup>30</sup> his brother, John E. Dooley, who also enlisted in the Guard in 1862 and who died, a member of the Society of Jesus, at Georgetown, was twice captured and wounded, at second Manassas and Gettysburg,<sup>31</sup> and left us his war journal, which has been ably edited in recent years by Rev. Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. John D. Keiley, Jr., of Petersburg, who later in New York became, with James A. McMaster, editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, a widely known Catholic publication, and was made a Knight of Saint Gregory the Great by Pope Pius IX,<sup>32</sup> enlisted in the Guard on April 21, 1861,



and eventually was promoted to brigade quartermaster.<sup>33</sup>

Still another Irish Catholic fighting unit from Richmond and its vicinity were the "Emmet Guards," otherwise known as Companies "F," of the 15th Infantry Regiment, and "G" of the 17th Infantry Regiment, of Corse's Brigade.<sup>34</sup> In Petersburg, Company A of the Petersburg City Battalion was largely composed of men from Saint Joseph's Parish, its captain, John Thomas Finn, giving his life in defense of his native town.<sup>35</sup> Company "D" of the 27th Virginia Infantry Regiment was known as the "Virginia Hibernians" because it was composed of Irishmen who had come to the state as workers on the railroads, and the 1st Virginia Battalion, otherwise known as the "Irish Battalion," of the Stonewall Brigade, is said to have contained four hundred Irish.<sup>36</sup>

### III

Bishop McGill's sympathies in the great struggle were entirely with the Confederacy and he strongly urged his people to fight for their beloved Southland.<sup>37</sup> One young man who hailed from a foreign strand and who, at the time of the war, had been in Virginia only a short while, related in later life how, near the beginning of the war, and before he had decided that it was his duty to fight, he had encountered the bishop and was upbraided for his hesitation by the prelate, who was not appeased until his promise to enlist had been given.<sup>38</sup> The good bishop, however, did not confine his charity to the sons of the South for he was a fre-

quent visitor to the Federal captives incarcerated in Richmond's Libby Prison.<sup>39</sup>

This agreement into which he entered on April 9, 1862, shows that Bishop McGill could always be approached by the poor and bewildered:

Agreement with Rhody Conroy on receiving his money, \$960. Mr. Rodger or Rhody Conroy a soldier (as substitute) in Capt. Marmaduke Johnson's Light Artillery has this ninth April, 1862, deposited with me nine hundred and sixty dollars till after the war, without interest, and I am to pay him, when the present war is over, on two months' notice, the said nine hundred and sixty dollars in current bankable notes without interest. If Mr. Conroy is killed in battle I am to retain said money as a donation towards the Diocese of Richmond; if he comes back, he is to give me the words: "I went into the church and said my prayers before I came in with the money," as a sign that he is the right man.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to the vicar-general, Father Teeling, already mentioned, Fathers O'Keefe of Norfolk, Plunkett of Portsmouth, and Mulvey of Petersburg, the latter also a vicar-general, in addition to their parochial duties, served also as chaplains to the Confederate forces encamped near their localities.<sup>41</sup> Among the priests who labored as chaplains to the Federal troops in the Virginian camps may be mentioned Fathers Scully, and Mahoney, and the Jesuits, McAtee, Tissot, and O'Hagan,<sup>42</sup> the last of whom was for a while captive at Richmond.<sup>43</sup>

Father O'Keefe, a particularly warm sympathizer with the Confederate cause, lent his aid and the help of his parish for any worthy endeavor connected with

that beloved object.<sup>44</sup> For example, in the latter part of November, 1861, the ladies of St. Mary's held a benefit fair to raise funds for the indigent families of the Norfolk city volunteers, which produced the sum of \$1,744.30.<sup>45</sup>

The Protestant physician, Dr. John Herbert Claiborne, has thus paid tribute to Rev. Thomas Mulvey, Petersburg's intrepid war-time pastor:

Father Mulvey walked amongst us brave, cheerful, cheering, helping where help was possible, and dispensing to all, friend and foe alike, the consolations of his holy office. During the fearful assault of the siege, when shot and shell rained desolation upon this devoted city, he seemed as unaffected by danger as though devoid of fear. During the last day of the siege, when the fighting was almost continuous charge and repulse, a young captain, not yet of age, in leading a forlorn hope, was shot through the body and brought back to the rear by the ambulance corps. I was called to him, but saw at once that his hurt was beyond human help. Recognizing him, and knowing that he was a Catholic, I directed a soldier to summon Father Mulvey. He must have been somewhere near, for in a few minutes he was at my side. I pointed out the young officer, and told the Father that he had but a little time left, as the death damp had already gathered on his brow, when the good man spoke up, "O, he is all right, he is all right, I saw him before you." But he came to us, and kneeling down administered the last offices of the church, the gallant young fellow receiving them with perfect faith, and passing away with a smile from the boundary line of battle to the borders of that land where the nations learn war no more.<sup>46</sup>

At Alexandria, Father Peter Kroes, another staunch friend of the South, refused to take an oath to the

Federal authorities in occupation of the town in order to qualify to perform marriages, and, accordingly, he either sent the parties to Washington to be married, or, in at least one instance, performed the nuptial ceremony in a ferry boat on the Potomac.<sup>47</sup> Neither would the Jesuit obey the dictates of the military commander to have public prayers for the "restored government;" yet he was respected and trusted by the United States authorities, who permitted him a pass to travel whither he pleased, and, at his request, saved not only the church, but a neighboring Presbyterian edifice, from occupancy as a hospital.<sup>48</sup> The secret of the regard entertained for him was his untiring care of the sick and wounded soldiers who filled the city.<sup>49</sup> Himself an ill man throughout this trying period, Father Kroes often said Mass when he had to hold on to the altar to keep himself from falling, and often heard confessions when his groans were audible throughout the church.

A group of soldiers had maltreated an Episcopal minister of Alexandria, who had refused to say the prayers for the authorities, dragging him from his pulpit and leading him to prison in his cassock and surplice.<sup>51</sup> When the word leaked out that the same treatment was intended for Father Kroes, an Irish regiment came to the priest's residence, and, as he appeared before the altar on the following Sunday and the signal to his attackers was about to be given from the gallery, the measured tramp of soldiers was heard at the door of the church.<sup>52</sup> Soon they were marching up the aisles and, to the relief of the congregation, knelt down and crossed themselves, as the would-be assailants withdrew.<sup>53</sup>

At Martinsburg, Father Becker was placed under arrest and thrown into prison for refusing to recognize the right of the Federal authorities set over that town to dictate to him what prayers he was to offer in his church.<sup>54</sup>

At Fredericksburg from 1862 until the conclusion of the war in 1865, the church was used as a storehouse for commissary stores or for hospital purposes.<sup>55</sup> The pews were removed out of the church at the time of the first battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and no religious services were held in the building until after the cessation of hostilities, new pews not being placed in the church until 1869.<sup>56</sup> Father Magri has written that "the floors and walls of St. Mary's Church, Fredericksburg, were literally bespattered with the blood of the wounded and dying soldiers brought there for hospital treatment."<sup>57</sup>

At Winchester, the scene of five battles and skirmishes, a town which changed hands seventy-two times in four years, the faithful were mainly dependent for the Sacraments upon the army chaplains, particularly a Father Sheriden, who accompanied the Federal forces, and a Father Schmilders, who served some Confederate troops from Louisiana.<sup>58</sup>

At Harper's Ferry, the Catholic church was the only one left undamaged at the end of the war, a situation due to the personal courage of Father Costello, the only clergyman of that town who remained to defend church property.<sup>59</sup> The bishop had offered him an opportunity to return to his native Ireland which he had refused.<sup>60</sup> "On one occasion," writes an historian of Harper's Ferry of Saint Peter's Church, "a Massa-



chusetts regiment inheriting from their saintly Pilgrim ancestors a holy horror of Popery, prepared to make an attack on it, but Meagher's Irish Brigade happening to be in the neighborhood, soon appeared on the stage, when the Massachusetts men took a second thought (which in *this* case was, certainly, the best), and retired without making the assault."<sup>61</sup>

#### IV

The chronicle of the War Between the States in Virginia can never be written in full unless reference be made to the selfless and valiant nursing service of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul.

In the early part of June, 1861, the authorities in charge of the Military Hospital at Richmond called upon the Sisters of Charity to come to the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers in the neighborhood of the Confederate capital, a request with which the noble women at once complied.<sup>62</sup> Saint Anne's Military Hospital, as the institution to which they were assigned became known, was in an unfinished state, with unplastered walls, but was thoroughly ventilated and free from dampness.<sup>63</sup> Two Sisters cared there for three hundred patients at a time, with from twelve to fourteen men being relegated to each ward.<sup>64</sup>

In the meanwhile, the Infirmary of Saint Francis de Sales had also been put to use for the care of wounded soldiers, and, on May 6, 1861, the *Alexandria Gazette* proclaimed that "there the soldiers will receive such nursing as no hospital not under the care of those gentle devoted women can bestow. Let us thank God for the

Sisters of Charity, whose home and hospitals in the midst of war and tumults are the ark upon the waters."<sup>65</sup> The Infirmary had soon become overcrowded, and the Confederate Government took, in addition to it, a large house.<sup>66</sup> At first, it was thought that fifteen male nurses would suffice for this addition, but on June 26, 1861, the Sisters from the Infirmary, at the request of the authorities, also went there to serve.<sup>67</sup>

The mother house of the community at Emmitsburg, Maryland, had nearly been drained of its daughters, when, on June 7, 1861, a telegram from the Confederate authorities asked for Sisters to come to Harper's Ferry to nurse the wounded.<sup>68</sup> The hospital in that town was filled, and around it in their tents lay many suffering men, including one entire regiment who had contracted measles on their march.<sup>69</sup> Shortly after three Sisters had arrived in this abode of misery, orders were received to evacuate to Winchester, as the Federal Army was attempting to cross the Potomac both above and below Harper's Ferry, in an attempt to surround the Confederates and cut off their supplies.<sup>70</sup> The well left at once; the ill, and those who cared for them, went down to the depot to await the arrival of railroad cars from Winchester.<sup>71</sup> During a long night, as the explosion of bridges and tracks by the Confederates seemed to shake the mountains, the frightened civilian townspeople of all faiths, gathered in Saint Peter's Church, Christians returned in time of peril to their mother, there to be consoled by the courageous Father Costello.<sup>72</sup> Throughout the following day, the Sisters expected hourly to be called to the cars, but word came that the ladies of Winchester had requested that they

themselves, rather than the Sisters, should be permitted to nurse the soldiers.<sup>73</sup> The Sisters thereupon, without rancor, offered to return to Emmitsburg, but received the reply that the objections of the Winchester ladies had been overruled.<sup>74</sup>

The Sisters began their labors in one of the largest hospitals of Winchester, working incessantly day and night, frequently not pausing long enough to take nourishment for themselves.<sup>75</sup> More nurses were desperately needed, and, as only Sisters of Charity might pass through the lines, one of them started to Emmitsburg, going first by railroad, then by stage, then crossing the Potomac by canoe, and finally on foot until she reached a railroad station on the Maryland side.<sup>76</sup> At the Emmitsburg motherhouse, where no news had been received except the published bulletins concerning the movement of the two armies, she was received as one returned from the dead.<sup>77</sup> Sister Euphemia, afterwards the superioress of the Eastern Province of the Community, left with three companions for Winchester, and at the same time a telegram was dispatched to Saint Louis instructing Sister Valentine of the Western Province to proceed immediately to the Virginia town.<sup>78</sup> Upon the latter's arrival at Winchester, Sister Euphemia departed to assist in Richmond, where she was eventually joined by her comrades following the Confederates' evacuation of the Valley.<sup>79</sup>

At Lynchburg, four Sisters of Charity, with Sister Rose as Sister Servant, nursed in the old Lynchburg College, where a French Jesuit, Father Gasche, was chaplain;<sup>80</sup> at Portsmouth, at the request of the Federal authorities, Sisters of Charity labored at the Marine

Hospital;<sup>81</sup> at Norfolk and at Fortress Monroe, they also helped, being assisted at the latter place by Sisters of Mercy.<sup>82</sup>

Nursing was not the only service of these noble women. At Richmond, Saint Joseph's Academy offered refuge to the daughters of a number of Confederate officers, placed there by fathers who felt that this school would be a safe haven during unsettled times.<sup>83</sup> Saint Mary's School in the capital, taught by the Notre Dame Sisters, also continued to operate, as the persuasive words and gentle manners of Father Leonard so moved the Federal authorities that they permitted the necessary text books to pass through the lines.<sup>84</sup>

## V

As the war prolonged its terrible course, the Catholic congregations of the diocese dwindled down to insignificant numbers composed almost exclusively of women, children, and aged men, and the soil of the Old Dominion was drenched with the blood of perhaps more Catholics than had ever lived previously within its limits.<sup>85</sup> The Catholic bishops in the Confederate States appointed the Adventual period from the first to the twentieth of December, 1863, as a time of special prayer for peace.<sup>86</sup>

In the fall of that year, Bishop McGill had written from Richmond that he had been forced "to suppress most of our Masses here during the week days for want of wine," a commodity which he was sometimes successful in obtaining from Rev. John Virtue, the chaplain of the British garrison at St. George's, Bermuda, who



would send it by means of a daring blockade-running ship.<sup>87</sup>

On October 15, 1864, the bishop wrote to Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore that he wished that he might have permission "from the U. S. Government or Mr. Secretary Stanton" to visit his churches behind the Federal lines, for which he granted to Spalding, as he had to his predecessor, Archbishop Kenrick, faculties for priests of the Baltimore Archdiocese.<sup>88</sup>

Prevented by military regulations from traveling over his diocese, Bishop McGill utilized his time in composing two treatises, of one of which he wrote to Spalding on November 23, 1864:

Can you not find for me if they will permit me to go to Norfolk, Baltimore, and New York, . . . I have a little book, which expresses what are our principal doctrines, that I want to publish, and here, for want of materials and hands, it is not only very expensive, but almost out of the question, to procure its publication. We cannot get Catholic books, and have nothing to put in the hands of inquirers.<sup>89</sup>

On January 7, 1865, he was able to report to the archbishop that he had the volume "going through the press, but slowly, for want of printers or compositors."<sup>90</sup> This was probably the work entitled *The True Church Indicated to the Inquirer*, which, with his second production, *Our Faith, the Victory*, was later reprinted under the general title: *The Creed of Catholics*,<sup>91</sup> which went through ten editions.<sup>92</sup> Father Magri has said that "It may be seriously doubted if Bishop McGill was surpassed in intellectual depth and in learning, if equalled, by any of the earlier American bishops, unless



we except the renowned Bishop England, of Charleston, known sometimes as "the Light of the American Hierarchy."<sup>93</sup>

In 1862, Archbishop Kenrick had requested Edwin M. Stanton, the United States Secretary of War, to permit Bishop McGill to pay his obligatory "ad limina" visit to the Sovereign Pontiff at Rome, which permission had been refused.<sup>94</sup> In January, 1865, the bishop suggested to his metropolitan that President Lincoln "would not be so unfavorable,"<sup>95</sup> and sent to the Archbishop, for delivery to the Chief Executive of the United States, the following letter:

To his Excellency, the President of the United States.

Dear Sir: Bishops in the country having the obligation to report the affairs of their diocese at Rome every ten years, I should have gone there in 1862. Through the Archbishop of Baltimore, Dr. Kenrick deceased, I applied to your excellency for permission and I was answered that Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, declined to permit it. I have in vain waited two years longer, and now I ask your excellency to allow me to go to Europe *via* Baltimore and New York. I desire this in the interests of religion, and for the benefit of my health, and I have not the slightest reason or motive connected with politics or troubles of the day, for wishing to go. I have had no part, and taken no part in these troubles, because from the day I became a priest I gave up all politics and resolved to attend to my profession. I do not think it right to withhold from you the avowal that I consider there is wrong done to the South, and that it is my belief that citizens owe their allegiance to the central government through the states, but I hold it my duty as a Bishop not to be a party to any movements which involve an interruption of order, and consequent

strife and bloodshed. I would wish to see peace once more, and to effect it, I pray continually, I have no temporal hopes, aspirations, or ends that I would not cheerfully give up for peace. No matter who rules or governs, I expect neither more or less, but simply quiet in the exercise of religious and civil liberty. Knowing then my views and neutral position, can you not grant me the privilege to pass through, and make my visit to the head of the church. I really do not see why this should be refused, unless under the impression that I had some other design than I have and avow.<sup>96</sup>

Lincoln, as the bishop anticipated, granted this petition with characteristic magnanimity, for, on February the seventeenth, McGill wrote to Spalding: "I hope you have not sent, and will not send, the letter to President Lincoln, which I caused to be addressed to your care, as I wrote to him by a more direct way, and obtained the favor I solicited. After Easter, I hope to be able to see you on my route, God willing."<sup>97</sup> In the same letter, he referred again to his book, saying that he had "three or four chapters, which I could not introduce into the book, because of the *expense* and of *want of paper*, for getting the work out on time."<sup>98</sup> The Archbishop must have had a relative in Southern captivity, for this letter concludes: "When I see the commissioner of exchange, I shall mention the case of Capt. Richard S. Spalding."<sup>99</sup>

In October, 1861, the completed Saint John's Church at Warrenton had been dedicated,<sup>100</sup> and from thenceforward had been periodically visited from Richmond.<sup>101</sup> On April 28, 1862, Rev. Michael Ferren had been ordained at Saint Peter's Cathedral,<sup>102</sup> and appointed assistant to Father O'Keefe at Norfolk.<sup>103</sup> Two new

priests had come to assist at Saint Peter's in Richmond, Father A. L. McMullan, who had come in July, 1861, and remained for four years and four months,<sup>104</sup> and Father John Hagan, who had arrived in August, 1861, and remained for six years.<sup>105</sup> Father Robert Andrews, long stationed at the Cathedral, had succeeded Father Teeling as pastor of Saint Patrick's Church at Richmond in January, 1865, and remained there until his death two years and nine months later,<sup>106</sup> and the closing period of the war found Father Kroes assisted at Alexandria by Father P. Toale, S.J., and another Jesuit, Rev. Thomas Ouelett, at Old Point Comfort.<sup>107</sup>

Bishop McGill was not able to prosecute his journey to Rome, as he had hoped, before that Easter of 1865, for on April 3, Richmond fell, and the cause of the South was lost.<sup>108</sup> Then, upon the surrender of the armies of Lee and Johnston, the bishop was at length permitted to make a visitation of his diocese in order to ascertain the condition of those whose spiritual welfare was entrusted to his care.<sup>109</sup> His heart must have been torn by the evidence on all sides of the havoc to religion wrought by the frightful war.

The Church of Saint Vincent de Paul at Bath, which had served as temporary quarters for Confederate troops, had been accidentally destroyed by fire.<sup>110</sup> The bishop had long since written to the Confederate Secretary of War for reparation, only to have received an unfavorable reply by way of the Quartermaster-General's Department.<sup>111</sup> At Winchester, horses of the United States Cavalry had actually been stabled within the sacred walls of the little stone church, which, afterwards, by order of General Banks, had been set afire.<sup>112</sup>

Nothing remained but a mass of ruins, with defaced and broken slabs in the yard to tell that vandals had been there in the garb of soldiers.<sup>113</sup> At Martinsburg, where the pastor, Father Becker, had occasionally passed valuable military intelligence to General T. J. Jackson,<sup>114</sup> sixty or seventy horses had been stabled within the walls of Saint Joseph's Church by the Jesse Scouts, who had also used the sacristies in the building as prisons.<sup>115</sup> At Portsmouth, the church begun before the war remained unfinished, with pews unpainted and windows boarded.<sup>116</sup>

Worse than physical depredation was the moral evil everywhere encountered, unbridled license and indifference to matters of faith, a situation against which the aging bishop felt obliged to inveigh in a vehement pastoral letter in February, 1866.<sup>117</sup> An example of this general post-war prevalence of crime, a condition brought about by constant military interference and, most of all, by the unprovided for and sudden freedom of the Negroes, is the theft of the communion service from Saint Peter's Cathedral in 1869.<sup>118</sup>

Throughout the trying days of military occupation by a recent foe, the priests of the diocese were the same good shepherds to their flocks which they had been during the time of battle. The Protestant historian of Portsmouth has written that "many people here who were not Catholics remembered Father Plunkett with gratitude. When Portsmouth was under military rule, this kindly priest, who had some influence with those in power, was untiring in his efforts to aid those who fell under the displeasure of those in authority."<sup>119</sup> At Norfolk, on December 8, 1867, the ladies of Saint



Mary's Parish held a raffle to aid the needy, the object raffled being a gold-headed cane made of lumber salvaged from the old iron-clad frigate, the *Virginia*, which the lucky winner should present to Jefferson Davis, some-time President of the Confederate States, then a hapless captive in Fortress Monroe.<sup>120</sup>

With the cooperation of his hard-working priests and of his valiant though impoverished people, Bishop McGill now began the religious reconstruction of his diocese with the result that, as soon as order arose from the chaos, there commenced a steady Catholic development which has continued uninterruptedly to the present day.

## VI

On August 23, 1864, Bishop McGill had purchased a plot of ground located on the southern side of East Grace Street and extending from Twenty-second to Twenty-third Streets on Richmond's historic Church Hill.<sup>121</sup> The house on this land had been built between 1777 and 1790 by Colonel Richard Adams, who had served in the colonial House of Burgesses and after the establishment of the Commonwealth in the General Assembly of Virginia.<sup>122</sup> The structure was called "The Old Mansion House."<sup>123</sup> It was a neat, frame building, of eight rooms, with front and back porches, and with a wide avenue of beautiful shade trees leading up to its main entrance.<sup>124</sup> In this residence, in September, 1866, the bishop planted a little colony of six nuns and one professed novice from the Monastery of the Visitation in Baltimore, and thus founded the Monte Maria Monastery of the Visitation.<sup>125</sup>



On September the seventeenth, less than a month after their arrival in the city, the nuns opened a boarding and day school for young ladies, which was to continue for sixty-one years.<sup>126</sup> During the opening year, there were five boarders and forty day scholars,<sup>127</sup> and the poverty of the convent was so great that, not being able to procure beds, the nuns ceded their own to the boarders and contented themselves with mattresses upon the floor.<sup>128</sup>

In the same month of the same year in the same neighborhood of the capital city in which the Monte Maria Convent was founded, a new community of Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul was attached to Saint Patrick's Parish.<sup>129</sup> They occupied a rented house on the western side of Twenty-fifth Street, where, on September 3, 1866, they opened an academy for girls, which was attended during the first year of its existence by no less than one hundred and fifty pupils.<sup>130</sup> That success marked the efforts made during this initial year is evident from the fact that, in the following year, 1867, seventy-five boys were received.<sup>131</sup> Although the school thus became coeducational, segregation of the sexes prevailed, certain Sisters teaching the boys, others instructing the girls.<sup>132</sup> On March 28, 1868, the five Sisters of Charity then conducting the school were incorporated under the title, "The Sisters of Charity of St. Patrick's School," and during the same year was purchased a lot on Twenty-fifth Street, near the north-eastern corner of East Franklin Street, and here the academy, to which a wing was added in 1869, was permanently established.<sup>133</sup>

Still another religious community of women came to Richmond in 1868, the Benedictine Congregation of Saint Scholastica,<sup>134</sup> who replaced the School Sisters of Notre Dame who had left Saint Mary's German Parish in the same year.<sup>135</sup> Following the departure of the Notre Dame Sisters, Father Leonard had applied for help to Mother Teresa Vogel, O.S.B., Prioress of Saint Joseph's Convent, St. Mary's, Elk County, Pennsylvania.<sup>136</sup> After consulting the chapter, and with the permission of Bishop McGill, Mother Teresa sent to Richmond the sixth group of nuns to leave her convent.<sup>137</sup>

At the parochial school of Saint Mary's Parish, which came under their charge at once, the Benedictine nuns taught the boys and girls separately.<sup>138</sup> In the autumn of 1868, they opened Saint Mary's Benedictine Institute, a private school patronized by both Catholics and Protestants, but which, on account of the small tuition asked, brought little profit to the community in charge of it.<sup>139</sup>

In the meanwhile, Saint Joseph's Academy and Orphan Asylum was weathering the storm of the post-war depression. In 1865, a concert had been given by eight girls from the school in "the public theatre" to raise funds for the orphans, and so pleasing had been their performance that repetition had been requested.<sup>140</sup> A monthly collection taken up at Saint Peter's Cathedral, usually netting about twenty dollars, was allocated for the support of the orphans.<sup>141</sup> At last, on October 3, 1868, Sister Mariana with four other Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, were incorporated as "The Sisters of Charity of Saint Joseph's Orphan Asylum

and Academy."<sup>142</sup> On July 23, 1869, Bishop McGill conveyed to the Sisters the lot which Father O'Brien had bought from Chevallié and, on the following October 12, a lot on Fourth Street which had been purchased for the Sisters on October 13, 1860, and held by trustees, was by those trustees also conveyed to the Sisters.<sup>143</sup>

The parochial school for boys in the basement of Saint Peter's Cathedral which had been discontinued during the war years, was reorganized by Father Becker, now a curate at the Cathedral, and during the year 1867 was attended by eighty boys.<sup>144</sup> This school was not discontinued until 1873.<sup>145</sup> The total attendance at all the Catholic schools and academies of Richmond for the year 1869 was 915.<sup>146</sup>

At Alexandria, Father Kroes sought during the post-war era to remedy the sad neglect of religious instruction and, on June 4, 1869, he applied for teachers to Mother M. Angela of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.<sup>147</sup> In all likelihood, contacts made with this community during the war at Saint Aloysius' Hospital in Washington were responsible for the Jesuit's invitation to them to send representatives to the Virginia town.<sup>148</sup> The application was accepted and, within a few weeks, six Sisters were sent to open the new foundation.<sup>149</sup>

The house which they occupied, 211 North Fairfax Street, had been erected in 1749 of brick which had been brought from England as ballast in a sailing vessel.<sup>150</sup> During the war, it had been confiscated by the Federal authorities and used as a hospital for the Union soldiers, where the kind ministrations of Father Kroes had often caused the patients to leave deposits

of money in his keeping.<sup>151</sup> Since many of these patients died, and since much of this money was never claimed by heirs, it was used by the pastor to purchase the house when the latter was sold at auction following the war.<sup>152</sup>

When the pioneer Sisters arrived, they found the house occupied by a lay teacher who had been permitted by Father Kroes to maintain a private school there.<sup>153</sup> This lady proposed that the school should continue under her authority with the Sisters employed as classroom teachers, intimating that Mother Angela had approved such an arrangement.<sup>154</sup> While awaiting an answer to their inquiry to Mother Angela concerning this proposition, the Sisters boarded at the house and occupied one of the large upstairs rooms, where they employed their time in making sheets, bed clothes, and other necessary articles.<sup>155</sup> When the occupant of the house was informed of Mother Angela's refusal to accept her suggestion, she renewed classes in another building, launching a vigorous campaign to enroll all available pupils.<sup>156</sup> The house was stripped of all movable furniture with the exception of a few broken desks, the parlor carpet, and three stoves.<sup>157</sup> In order to pay for these articles, Father Kroes borrowed money from the bank, since the Sisters had no capital of their own with which to begin the foundation.<sup>158</sup> At their first conventual meal, the Sisters sat on trunks and munched their bread and meat, since they had neither plates, cups, knives, nor forks.<sup>159</sup> In order to alleviate the poverty of the little community, the men of the parish took up a collection which produced the sum of two hundred and twenty dollars; the ladies sponsored a



fair for the same purpose and this effort realized about seventeen hundred dollars.<sup>160</sup> With this capital, the Sisters furnished their home and equipped it to carry on their educational work.<sup>161</sup> On January 1, 1870, they were able to report a total of seven boarding pupils and eighty-six day pupils.<sup>162</sup> Thus began Saint Mary's Academy, always independent of the parish in its management.<sup>163</sup>

Almost from the start of their activities in Alexandria, however, the Sisters of the Holy Cross taught in the free school of the parish. Saint Mary's Hall was adapted for their purpose and, within a few weeks after the opening of the Academy, the Sisters were there conducting the "new" Saint Mary's Parochial School.<sup>164</sup>

The most ambitious post-war educational venture in the diocese was the establishment at Norfolk of Saint John's Seminary, under the direction of Father O'Keefe and his assistant, Rev. Gerard Van der Plast, a native of the province of North Brabant in the Netherlands.<sup>165</sup> It was located on Mariner and Walke Streets,<sup>166</sup> and opened with one student of philosophy and five of theology.<sup>167</sup> Circumstances and financial difficulties soon forced it to close, but not before seven of its young alumni had been ordained to the priesthood at the altar of Saint Mary's Church.<sup>168</sup>

On January 12, 1871, in the basement of Saint Peter's Cathedral, the Catholics of Richmond met to protest against the recent occupation of Rome by the Italian government of King Victor Emmanuel II and the consequent deposition of Pope Pius IX from the sovereignty of the Papal States.<sup>169</sup> This meeting resulted fourteen years later in an interesting international incident.



On April 2, 1885, the United States Senate approved the nomination of Anthony M. Keiley, a Catholic Virginian of prominence and a former mayor of Richmond, to the post of United States Minister to Italy, this appointment having received the support of Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore as well as that of Keiley's own brother, John D. Keiley, Jr., the veteran major of the Montgomery Guard, now an important political figure of Brooklyn, New York.<sup>170</sup> Ten days later, the *New York Herald* unearthed the fact that Anthony Keiley, when mayor of Richmond over a decade before, had addressed to the aforesaid gathering at Saint Peter's Cathedral remarks denunciatory of King Victor Emmanuel.<sup>171</sup>

The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs requested that no further action be taken in the case until the matter of the Richmond speech had been "cleared up."<sup>172</sup> Keiley avowed to Thomas F. Bayard, Grover Cleveland's Secretary of State, his "full responsibility" for the remarks that he had made in January, 1871, but wrote that he thought that "the progress of events, and the firm establishment of the Italian Kingdom" had removed "all such questions from the realm of discussion."<sup>173</sup> The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs thought otherwise, and he instructed Baron Pava, the Italian Minister at Washington, to inform Bayard that it would be impossible for Mr. Keiley to be "persona Grata to our King."<sup>174</sup> The only solution of the difficulty was the resignation of Keiley, which was forwarded to Bayard on April the twenty-eighth.<sup>175</sup>

On the following day, April the twenty-ninth, Keiley was nominated to be Minister to AustriaHungary,<sup>176</sup> but

the imperial Hapsburg court also refused to receive him on the ground that he was married to a Jewess.<sup>177</sup> Accordingly, on September 1, 1885, Keiley resigned this post and was subsequently appointed to the international tribunal at Alexandria, Egypt, which had been formed to settle the financial claims of various Powers and nationals against the bankrupt Khedive.<sup>178</sup>

## VII

Bishop McGill took a prominent part in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore which was opened by Archbishop Spalding on October 7, 1866; he was one of the prelates chosen to preach during its sessions, and his sermons there delivered were considered models of learning and eloquence,<sup>179</sup> were printed in the United States, and were later reprinted in Europe. In them he depicted to the assembled bishops the needs of the church in the south, and pled for its support. Colonel Wynne, a prominent Protestant citizen of Richmond, who was visiting in Baltimore at the time, later remarked: "When, in 1866, I saw all the American Bishops assembled in National Council pass in procession, I felt proud of Virginia, for the Bishop of Richmond was like Saul among the prophets, head and shoulders above his compeers, not only in stature, but in dignity, grace, and intellectual attainments."<sup>180</sup> Yet this great churchman, when he felt that he had been guilty of an injustice to one of his priests, had been known to fall upon his knees to beg his subordinate's pardon.<sup>181</sup>

In 1869, Bishop McGill journeyed to Rome to attend the sessions of the Vatican Council, returning to his

diocese toward the end of the following year.<sup>182</sup> While present in the Eternal City on this solemn occasion, he delivered a "magnificent public discourse."<sup>183</sup> During the sessions of the Council, however, his health became impaired, and he lost almost entirely the use of one eye.<sup>184</sup> He seemed to have an intuition of his approaching death when, back in his native land, he visited his relatives in Kentucky and bade them farewell.<sup>185</sup> On his return to Richmond, his infirmities increased and his sufferings grew to be intense.<sup>186</sup> His death was due to cancer of the stomach.<sup>187</sup>

On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1871, John McGill received the last rites at the hands of Father Leonard Mayer; at nine o'clock on the morning of the Feast of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, January 14, 1872, his zealous and courageous soul was released into the care of its Maker.<sup>188</sup> "Few events," wrote Anthony Keiley of the Bishop's death, "have occurred in Richmond evoking a larger measure and a more decided expression of sympathy from all classes."<sup>189</sup> By permission of the City Council, the body was interred in the basement of Saint Peter's in front of the chapel altar, and, shortly thereafter, a memorial tablet was placed in the Cathedral.<sup>190</sup> Rt. Rev. James Frederick Wood, Bishop of Philadelphia, celebrated the Pontifical Mass of Requiem, and Bishop Lynch of Charleston delivered the funeral oration; Bishop Becker of Wilmington was among the mourners, as was gentle James Gibbons, Bishop of the Titular See of Adramyttum and Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina.<sup>191</sup>

On January the sixteenth, Bishop Gibbons was appointed by Archbishop Spalding, with the concurrence

of Bishops Wood, Lynch, and Becker, to be administrator of the Diocese of Richmond.<sup>192</sup> On the twenty-ninth of August the Papal Bull, dated July the thirtieth, which appointed this future prince of the Church to be Bishop of Richmond, arrived in the Old Dominion.<sup>193</sup>

## VIII

Bishop McGill had found Richmond an impoverished diocese with only eight priests. Within ten years he had paid the bulk of the diocesan debt, built several churches, established a number of missions, founded schools at Richmond, Norfolk, where he also erected a hospital, Petersburg, and Harper's Ferry. In addition to these achievements, he had neutralized the evil effects of the Know-Nothing agitation by his judicious carriage and a series of letters in refutation of charges made by Robert Ridgeway in the latter's nativist paper, and had shepherded his plague-stricken flock through the ravages of cholera and yellow fever. He had held his diocese's first synod, and perceptibly tightened the reins of ecclesiastical discipline. When the War Between the States had thrown Virginia into chaos, Bishop McGill had furnished chaplains for the Confederate forces, ministered personally at Libby Prison, and detailed Sisters of Charity and of Mercy as military nurses. Unable to visit churches of his diocese, he had utilized his time in writing instructive works. On Lee's surrender, Bishop McGill visited the war-torn diocese and entered upon the arduous labor of reconstruction: churches were rebuilt and scattered congregations mobilized; academies were established by the Visitation Nuns, Sisters of Charity and of the

Holy Cross, and by the Benedictine Congregation of Saint Scholastica. The name of John McGill, third Bishop of Richmond, is still revered in the diocese he served so tirelessly and brilliantly, and it deservedly has been accorded a distinguished place in the annals of the Catholic Church in the United States.



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## Conclusion

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THE diocese of Richmond, established July 11, 1820, comprised, with the exception of the town of Alexandria, the entire Commonwealth of Virginia, which then included the modern state of West Virginia. By July 30, 1872, the date of the appointment of Rt. Rev. James Gibbons to be its bishop, the diocese had assumed its present proportions, the diocese of Wheeling having been carved from it on July 23, 1850, and the Eastern Shore counties of Northampton and Accomac having been surrendered by the Bishop of Richmond to the diocese of Wilmington, Delaware, in 1868. Alexandria, formerly, as a part of the District of Columbia, in the Archdiocese of Baltimore, was annexed to Richmond on August 15, 1858. Therefore, geographically speaking, the formative period of the diocese may be said to have come to an end by the time of the advent of its fourth bishop, James Gibbons. Not only geographically but in other ways the crystallization of the diocese had by that time taken place.

The erection of Virginia into a diocese had been exceedingly premature, since what small Catholic population there was in the Commonwealth had been concentrated chiefly in the coastal cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth. Its formation was undoubtedly the result of the intrigues at Rome of a group of malcontents, mainly of Irish origin, in the city of Norfolk, who resented what they took to be the domination of the American church by clergy of French extraction. With

complete justice and with considerable vehemence the move was opposed by Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal of Baltimore who, however, naturally deferred to the order of the Holy See. As might have been predicted, the short episcopate of Richmond's first bishop, Patrick Kelly, was beset with financial difficulties and with troubles caused by the chronically choleric Catholics of Norfolk. The diocese of Richmond reverted for administration to the Archbishops of Baltimore in July, 1822.

During the interregnum of nineteen years prior to the appointment of Richmond's second bishop, Catholicism grew but slowly in Virginia and only in the state capital and in the scattered towns of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Petersburg, Lynchburg, Martinsburg, Winchester, and Wheeling. The dominant figure in the Virginian church during these years was Rev. Timothy O'Brien, who built Saint Peter's Church at Richmond, afterwards the cathedral, and founded Saint Joseph's Female Academy and Orphan Asylum.

Rt. Rev. Richard Vincent Whelan, D.D., consecrated March 21, 1841, will ever be remembered as a missionary bishop of Christ-like self-abnegation and apostolic zeal, whose journeys about the diocese inspired and kept alive the spark of faith in many dark and remote corners. Although his diocesan seminary was not long-lived, it could never be called abortive for it produced evangelical priests of Xaverian quality. He also dedicated churches at Petersburg, Wheeling, and Norfolk, and founded in the latter city a female orphan asylum. During his episcopate, there was a substantial increase in the Catholic population of the state due to

the great Irish immigrations of 1845 and 1848. From 1846 to 1850 he left the eastern portion of Virginia in the charge of Father O'Brien and devoted his chief attention to the western half of the Commonwealth. This he was finally instrumental in having erected into the separate diocese of Wheeling, of which he was made Bishop.

Rt. Rev. John McGill, D.D., consecrated November 10, 1850, the last of Richmond's first three bishops, takes rank as the most outstanding of the trio. A man of profound learning, tremendous energy, and whole-hearted dedication, he opposed by pen and voice the outbreak of violent prejudice called Know-Nothingism and, a veritable tower of strength, he led his people with undaunted courage through plague, warfare, and the bitter post-bellum years of frustration, humiliation, and defeat. In spite of superhuman obstacles, new churches were opened, new institutions were founded, and new religious communities were introduced by this most determined and intrepid prelate.

By the time of Bishop McGill's death in 1872, the diocese of Richmond may be said to have undergone the cruel pangs of a difficult nativity, and to have survived the trials of a turbulent childhood. Bishops Kelly and Whelan had assisted at the birth, but it was John McGill who with firm hand had guided the diocese through the crises of its subsequent development at a period of national history unparalleled for religious and sectional bitterness. With the coming of Gibbons, the diocese entered upon an era of vigorous adolescence which has reached fruition under the dynamic bishops of the present century.



# Footnotes

## INTRODUCTION

1. Rev. Michael Kenny, S.J., *The Romance of the Floridas* (New York: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1934), p. 205.
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## CHAPTER I

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132. Norris, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 303.
133. F. Vernon Aler, *A Full and Complete History of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia, Past and Present* (Hagerstown, Md.: The Mail Publishing Co., 1888), p. 356. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, p. 216. Norris, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 303. Cartmell tells us that, even prior to 1800, Mass had been said in this immediate neighborhood at "Retirement Farm," the home of Richard McSherry, Jr.
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## CHAPTER II

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2. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 68.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 69. He did not receive the pallium until the following year.
5. Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia (1815-1822)*, p. 156.
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8. Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia (1815-1822)*, p. 156.
9. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 350.
10. The Catholics of Richmond to Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, June 25, 1824, BCA, Case-22-J17.
11. Keiley, *Memoranda of the History of the Catholic Church in Richmond, Va.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 45-46.
12. Keiley, *op. cit.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
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18. *Ibid.*
19. Keiley, *op. cit.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Margaret Meagher, *History of Education in Richmond* (Richmond: 1930).
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27. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 47. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 85.
29. Keiley, *op. cit.*, Magri, *op. cit.*
30. Very Rev. Henry F. Parke, *Some Notes on the Rise and Spread of the Catholic Missions in Virginia, A.D. 1774-1850*, p. 2.
31. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
32. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, pp. 422-423.
33. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Paris and Lyons), IV, 245.
34. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
35. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, V, 7121.
36. Keiley, *op. cit.*; Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

37. Magri, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
38. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Most Rev. James Whitfield, July 3, 1832, BCA, Case-23-P4.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. Richmond City Hustings Court, Richmond, Va., Deed Book 32 (recorded on microfilm, Reel 17, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, Richmond), p. 213. This same property was deeded, on July 15, 1853, by Father O'Brien, then a resident of Massachusetts, to Rt. Rev. John McGill, of Richmond. Richmond City Hustings Court, Richmond, Va., Deed Book 65 (recorded on microfilm, Reel 33, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, Richmond), p. 97.
44. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Most Rev. James Whitfield, Feb. 19, 1833, BCA, Case-23-P5.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Most Rev. James Whitfield, August 13, 1833, Photostat, RDA.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.* In obedience to a decision of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, in 1852, Father O'Brien, in that year, deeded this with all other property in his name in the Diocese to Bishop McGill. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Sept. 22, 1852, RDA.
59. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Rev. Samuel Eccleston, April 9, 1834, BCA, Case-24-F7.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. W. Asbury Christian, D.D., *Richmond, Her Past and Present* (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1912), p. 126. Keiley and Magri both err in identifying the year of the dedication of Saint Peter's as 1835.
64. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Most Rev. James Whitfield, July 14, 1834, BCA, Case-23-P6.
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66. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
71. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
73. The Baptismal Register, The Marriage Register, Saint Peter's Church, Richmond, Va.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, X, 494.
77. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Most Rev. James Whitfield, Feb. 19, 1833, BCA, Case-23-P5.
78. *Ibid.*
79. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Mother M. Rose White, June 10, 1834, Archives, Saint Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Md.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.* (Notation by Mother M. Rose White on reverse side of letter.)
84. Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters, The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1809-1917* (3 vols.; New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917-1923), I, 217. Sister Mary Agnes Yeakel, *The Nineteenth Century Educational Contribution of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Virginia* ("The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Education," No. 27 (Baltimore, 1939), p. 39. Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
85. McCann, *op. cit.*, I, 218-220. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40.
86. McCann, *op. cit.*, I, 220.
87. *Ibid.*, I, 218-220. Keiley, *op. cit.*
88. Keiley, *op. cit.* Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
89. McCann, *op. cit.*, I, 221. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
90. McCann, *op. cit.*, I, 221.
91. *Ibid.*, I, 221.
92. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Keiley, *op. cit.*, gives the year as 1840.
93. *The Miscellany* (Charleston, S. C.), July 10, 1822.
94. Father Carillo to Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Dec. 15, 1823, Photostat, RDA.
95. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Most Rev. James Whitfield, July 3, 1832, BCA, Case-23-P4.
96. *Ibid.*



97. Rev. Timothy O'Brien to Most Rev. James Whitfield, Feb. 19, 1833, BCA, Case-23-P3.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*
100. James H. Bailey, II, *A Century of Catholicism in Historic Petersburg* (Richmond, Va.: 1942), p. 9.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
102. William Duffy to Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, March 6, 1823, quoted in *Out of the Past, Records and Researches Compiled by Catholic Historical Society of the Diocese of Richmond* (Richmond: June, 1940), pp. 10-11.
103. Father Carrillo to Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, December 15, 1823, Photostat, RDA.
104. W. Asbury Christian, D.D., *Lynchburg and Its People* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Co., 1900), p. 132. Michael A. Lovett, James W. O'Brien, Thomas P. Lovett, *Synopsis of the History of St. Francis Xavier's Church of Lynchburg, Va.* (The Catholic Benevolent Union of Virginia: 1875). Grace Walsh, *The Catholic Church in Lynchburg, 1829-1936* (Lynchburg, Va.: 1936), p. 13. *The Memorial of the Church of the Holy Cross, Lynchburg, Va.* (1904-1905), p. 29, gives the year as 1828.
105. Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 132. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit. Memorial of the Church of the Holy Cross*, p. 29.
106. Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 132. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit. Memorial of the Church of the Holy Cross*, p. 29. Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
107. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
108. Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 132. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
109. Thomas J. Hogan, *The Golden Jubilee of the Church of St. Mary's of the Immaculate Conception, With a Resume of Catholic History in the City of Norfolk* (Norfolk: Burke and Gregory, 1909), p. 38. Rev. Gregory Maioriello, "Tidewater Church History Vague from 1822-1833," *The Catholic Virginian*, January 25, 1952.
110. *The Miscellany* (Charleston, S. C.), July 10, 1822. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 84.
111. William A. Walsh, *Annals of the Catholic Church of Portsmouth, Va.*
112. Mildred M. Holladay, "History of Portsmouth," *The Portsmouth Star*, January 19, 1936.
113. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*
114. *Ibid.* Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 106, states that at Archbishop Whitfield's accession (1828), Norfolk had "two priests who attended also the Catholics of Portsmouth." This would seem to corroborate William A. Walsh's

assertion that a separate pastorate was not established in Portsmouth prior to 1834.

115. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*

116. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 61, assigns 1835 and 1844 as the limiting years of Moriarty's pastorate, but William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*, gives the date of that pastor's arrival in Portsmouth as April, 1858, and Miss Holladay, "History of Portsmouth," *op. cit.*, names 1839. One of the last two dates must have been the time when Moriarity removed from Norfolk and actually took up his residence at Portsmouth.

117. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*

118. *Ibid.* Miss Holladay, "History of Portsmouth," *op. cit.*, says that he left in the month of August.

119. Maioriello, "Tidewater Church History Vague from 1822 to 1833," *op. cit.*

120. *Ibid.* Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

121. Mahon and Hayes, *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 648. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 106.

122. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 648. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to 1843*, p. 106.

123. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 37. Maioriello, "Tidewater Catholicism Vague from 1822 to 1833," *op. cit.*

124. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

125. Maioriello, "Tidewater Catholicism from 1833-1852," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 15, 1952. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

126. M. Glennan, *Reminiscences of Boyhood. A Paper Read Before the Emerald Literary Association of Norfolk, Va., Friday Evening, November 17th, 1893.*

127. Sadie Bell, *The Church, The State, and Education in Virginia* (Philadelphia: The Science Press Printing Co., 1930), p. 580. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 8, 1952, gives the date as 1837.

128. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 8, 1952. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

129. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *op. cit.*

130. *Ibid.*

131. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism from 1833-1852," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 22, 1952. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

132. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 430.

133. Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazeteer of Virginia, and the District of Columbia* (Charlottesville: 1836), p. 405. The town of Triadelphia boasted a population of only three hundred and fifty-nine in 1950, according to *Rand-McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide* (82nd ed.; Rand-McNally and Co., New York, 1951), p. 460.

134. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 84.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 430.
138. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
139. *The Miscellany* (Charleston, S. C.), July 10, 1822.
140. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, p. 216. McManus, *Sketch of the History of the Catholic Church in Martinsburg, W. Va.*
141. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, p. 216. McManus, *op. cit.*
142. Magri and Dittmeyer, *History of Saint Peter's Church, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and Missions*, give the date of Gildea's coming to Martinsburg as 1825, but there is some reason to believe that he did not become pastor there until 1829, since Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 430, mentions Father Roloff as having been in charge in Martinsburg in that year, and Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 649-650, give 1829 and 1836 as the limiting years of his pastorate. He was undoubtedly the priest mentioned by Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 422, as having been stationed at Martinsburg by Archbishop Whitfield in the spring of 1829.
143. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 650.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 650.
145. Magri and Dittmeyer, *op. cit.* Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 431.
146. Magri and Dittmeyer, *op. cit.*
147. *Ibid.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 58, states that "he built St. John's Church at Martinsburg at a cost of \$2,000.00."
148. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 579. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Magri and Dittmeyer, *op. cit.* Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 350, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, pp. 575-576.
149. Magri and Dittmeyer, *op. cit.*
150. *Ibid.* Norris, *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 303.
151. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, X, 494.
152. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

### CHAPTER III

1. *United States Catholic Magazine*, III (March, 1844), 610.
2. Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States* (3 vols., New York: P. O'Shea, 1872-1888), III, 109. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 57. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *The National Cyclopaedia of*

*American Biography*, Vol. X. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 350, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 575.

3. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 109. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*, Vol. X.

4. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 109.

5. *Ibid.* "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.* Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 57, and Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 to . . . 1843*, p. 575, state that Bishop Whelan had two years of theology at Mount Saint Mary's following his graduation from that institution in 1826, his mentor having been Rev. Simon Gabriel Bruté, afterwards first Bishop of Vincennes.

6. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

7. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 109. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*, and Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 350, give the date as 1832.

8. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 575.

9. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 to . . . 1843*, p. 575.

10. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

11. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 577.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 577. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Bailey, *A Century of Catholicism in Historic Petersburg*, p. 14; Parke, *Some Notes on the Rise and Spread of the Catholic Missions in Virginia*, p. 7. According to Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 62, "Some of the old inhabitants of Richmond relate how the Bishop would often, on Sunday mornings, after saying an early Mass . . . , walk all the way, fasting, to Petersburg, a distance of twenty-two miles, and there say a second Mass. He did not ride, but walked both from a spirit of mortification and in order to save expenses."

13. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 109. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 3. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*

14. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 109. Keiley, *Memoranda of the History of the Catholic Church in Richmond, Va.* Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 60. Meagher, *History of Education in Richmond*, p. 124. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

15. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 109. Keiley, *op. cit.* Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 60. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 577. Other distinguished products of Bishop Whelan's seminary were Father Edward Fox, the able controversialist, Father Austin Grogan, the tireless missionary of western Virginia, Father Henry F. Parke, historian and first vicar-general of the diocese of Wheeling, Father James V. Cunningham, and Father James Hewitt, all of whom had responded to the bishop's published appeal for students. According to Parke, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 10, other alumni were Rev. Jeremiah F. O'Neill, Jr., who, entered by Bishop England for the Georgia missions, became the first resident pastor of Atlanta, Rev. Peter



Corcoran, who also served in the South as pastor at Key West, Rev. J. E. O'Sullivan, who labored in the Albany diocese, and Rev. Peter Lanaghan, who returned to the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

16. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
17. *Ibid.* Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 109. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 4. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*
18. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
20. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
21. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
22. Mahon and Hayes, *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 649. *United States Catholic Magazine*, I (February, 1842).
23. *United States Catholic Magazine*, I (February, 1842).
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*; Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 110; Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
26. *United States Catholic Magazine*, I (February, 1842).
27. Keiley, *op. cit.*; Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
28. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, from the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1843, to the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1866* (New York: 1892), p. 81. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 649. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
29. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
30. Bailey, *op. cit.* Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 111. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 578. *United States Catholic Magazine*, I (February, 1842).
31. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
32. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
33. *Ibid.* Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
34. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
35. Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. William S. Forrest, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1853), p. 215. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 110. Magri, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism from 1833-1852," *The Catholic Virginian*, February 22, 1952. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
39. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 649.
40. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism from 1833-1852," *op. cit.*
41. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
42. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism from 1833-1852," *op. cit.*
43. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 215.



44. *The United States Catholic Magazine*, V (July, 1846), 385.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism from 1833-1852," *op. cit.*
47. *The United States Catholic Magazine*, V (July, 1846), 385.
48. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 579.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg," Typescript, RDA. *Memorial of the Church of the Holy Cross, Lynchburg, Va.*, p. 29.
54. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 63. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
55. Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 132. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *Synopsis of the History of St. Francis Xavier's Church, Lynchburg, Va.* Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg." Grace Walsh, *The Catholic Church in Lynchburg, 1829-1936*, p. 14.
56. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg." Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
57. Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg." Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 133, tells us that on July 4, 1843, a large number of Irish immigrants organized there a "Repeal Association," the object of which was to assist their countrymen to secure a restoration of their rights as citizens.
58. Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 132. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg." Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
59. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg." *Memorial to the Church of the Holy Cross, Lynchburg, Va.*, p. 29. Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
60. Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People*, p. 132. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg."
61. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg."
62. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Magri, "The Catholic Church in Lynchburg," *Memorial of the Church of the Holy Cross, Lynchburg, Va.*, p. 30. Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
63. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
64. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.* Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
65. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.*
66. *Ibid.* *Memorial of the Church of the Holy Cross, Lynchburg, Va.*, p. 30. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Grace Walsh, *op. cit.*

67. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 64.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*, p. 61. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 577.
72. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 577.
73. McManus, *op. cit.*; Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 61. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to 1843*, p. 577.
74. Rt. Rev. Richard V. Whelan to Rt. Rev. Francis P. Kenrick, May 30, 1841, BCA, Case-32-J1.
75. Clarke, *op. cit.*, II, 444.
76. *Ibid.*, III, 110. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 62. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 578.
77. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 110. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 62. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 578.
78. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 111. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 63. Parke, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
79. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 111. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to 1843*, p. 578.
80. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 111. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 578.
81. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 111. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 66-67. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
82. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 67. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
83. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 73.
84. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 111. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 64. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
85. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
87. *Ibid.*
88. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 67.
89. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 112.
90. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
91. *Ibid.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 67.
92. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*
100. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 112. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 69.
101. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 112. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 69.
102. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
103. Robert R. Howison, *A History of Virginia from its Discovery and Settlement by Europeans to the Present Time* (2 Vols.; Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1846), II, 491.
104. Keiley, *op. cit.*
105. Rev. Ignatius Remke, O.S.B., *Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Richmond, Va.*, 1843-1935, p. 3.
106. *Ibid.* Rev. E. I. Devitt, S.J., "St. Mary's (German) Church, Richmond, Va. (1850-1860)," Typescript, GUA.
107. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Devitt, "St. Mary's (German) Church."
108. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 83.
109. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
110. *Ibid.* Keiley, *op. cit.*
111. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Keiley, *op. cit.*, says that this house, which was eventually demolished, afterwards served for a time as a synagogue.
112. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 71. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
113. Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Yeakel, *The Nineteenth Century Educational Contribution of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Virginia*, p. 40.
114. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
115. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 71.
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
118. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
119. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 82.
120. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
121. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, February 8, 1952, gives their names as Sisters Celine and Baptista.

122. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
123. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 8, 1952.
124. Archives, St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Md.
125. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 8, 1952.
126. *Ibid.* Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
127. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
128. *Ibid.* Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 8, 1952.
129. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 112. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 82.
130. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
131. *Ibid.* Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 112. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*, Vol. X.
132. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 112. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
133. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
134. *Ibid.* Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 113. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 30. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*, Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 82.
135. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 113. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*
136. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 113. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
137. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 113. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 82.
138. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 113.
139. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
140. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Norris, ed., *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, p. 304.
143. McManus, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
144. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
145. Aler, *A Full and Complete History of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia, Past and Present*, p. 357.
146. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
148. *Ibid.*, Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 72.

149. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1856*, p. 83.
150. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 114. Keiley, *op. cit.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 72. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 649. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.* Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 351.
151. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 114. Keiley, *op. cit.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 72. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 649. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 15. "Richard Vincent Whelan," *op. cit.*, Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 83, and *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 351.
152. Keiley, *op. cit.*, Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 649.
153. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 72.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
155. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 351.
156. *Ibid.* Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 116. "Richard Vincent Whelan." *op. cit.*.
157. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 116.

## CHAPTER IV

1. *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, Sept. 18, 1855.
2. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, III, 81.
3. *Ibid.* "John McGill." *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. X. Magri, "Catholicity of Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *The Catholic Historical Review*, II (January, 1917), 415, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 84.
4. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 81.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
8. *Ibid.* "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 415, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74, and Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 84, give 1830 as the date of McGill's matriculation at Saint Joseph's, but they must be in error. In his *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352, Shea agrees with the date given by Clarke and by the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*.
9. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 82.



10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.* "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 415. *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 84.
13. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 82. "John McGill," *op. cit.*
14. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 82. "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 415 and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352.
15. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 82. "John McGill," *op. cit.*
16. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 82-83. "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 74. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 84.
17. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 416, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 84.
18. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 83.
19. *Ibid.* "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill" (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 416, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352.
20. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 83.
21. *Ibid.* "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 416, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from 1843 . . . to 1866*, p. 84.
22. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 85.
23. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 84. "John McGill," *op. cit.* Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 . . . to . . . 1866*, p. 85.
24. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 84.
25. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 416, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 74. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 85.
26. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 84. "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872),"

*op. cit.*, p. 416, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 75. Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 352, and *The Catholic Church in the United States from 1843 . . . to 1866*, p. 85. Bishop McGill, Gartland of Savannah, and O'Reilly of Hartford, all consecrated on the same day, the Feast of the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but at different places, were allowed by the Holy Father, by rescript from Rome, to celebrate their anniversaries on that day each year, whatever its date. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 86.

27. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 84. "John McGill," *op. cit.*

28. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 416, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 75.

29. Rt. Rev. John McGill, "A Record for things to be Noted Regarding the Diocese," (hereinafter cited as "Record"), ms., RDA.

30. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," p. 417, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 76. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 86.

31. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 417, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 76.

32. J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia* (Staunton, Va.: Samuel M. Yost and Son, 1922), pp. 90-91. *St. Francis of Assisi Parish, Centennial Anniversary 1850-1950* (Staunton, Va., 1950), p. 13. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 77.

33. *St. Francis of Assisi Parish*, p. 13.

34. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 76.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

37. *Ibid.* Rev. Edmund C. Kiefer, "Blessed Sacrament Church, Harrisonburg, Va.," typescript, RDA. *St. Francis of Assisi Parish*, p. 13.

38. Devitt, "St. Mary's (German) Church, Richmond, Va. (1850-1860)." Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 76. Remke, *Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Richmond, Va., 1843-1935*, p. 5, states that Father Paulhuber first came to Richmond to be curate at St. Peter's Cathedral.

39. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 76.

40. *Ibid.* Grace Walsh, *The Catholic Church in Lynchburg, 1829-1936*, pp. 15-16, gives the following account of Father Fox's death: "At the station one morning he found a family in deep distress; the father was ill with ship-fever, the mother had just died and still held in her arms an infant a few months old. Other children stood around weeping. Many had expressed sympathy and then passed by on the other side, but Father Fox took these unfortunate people to the rectory, cared for the

living and buried the dead. Father Fox himself was soon ill with the malignant fever. Dr. Owen, the physician, notified Mr. Connell of the situation and together they went to the rectory to urge the priest to go to Mr. Connell's home where he could receive proper care. The saint, ever mindful of others, never of himself, refused to go, saying that no one should incur any risk of contracting the fever. Persuasion being of no avail, the doctor, with Mr. Connell's assistance, placed him in a carriage and drove to the latter's residence on Fifth Street, where the whole family considered it a privilege to wait upon their pastor. A negro maid also volunteered for service in the sick room. On August 3, 1850, Father Fox died. The funeral took place from the church and he was buried in the Methodist cemetery."

41. Keiley, *Memoranda of the History of the Catholic Church in Richmond, Va.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 75-76.

42. Keiley, *op. cit.*

43. "Resolutions of a Meeting Held in Favour of Rev. T. O'Brien at Richmond, Va.," ms., RDA.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 75.

46. Rev. Daniel Downey to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Sept. 1, 1854, RDA.

47. Rev. Joseph Plunkett to Rev. James Teeling, Sept. 20, 1854, RDA.

48. Edward Pollock, *A Sketch Book of Portsmouth, Va.* (Portsmouth, Va.: 1886), p. 155.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Holladay, "History of Portsmouth," *The Portsmouth Star*, January 19, 1936.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

64. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 80.

65. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 418.

66. Rev. Francis Devlin to Rt. Rev. John McGill, August 16, 1855, RDA.
67. Mahon and Hayes, *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 650.
68. Rev. Thomas Mulvey to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Sept. 24, 1855, RDA.
69. William A. Walsh, *Annals of the Catholic Church of Portsmouth, Va., from 1804 to 1875*.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Holladay, "History of Portsmouth," *op. cit.*
72. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*
73. *Ibid.* Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 650.
74. Hogan, *The Golden Jubilee of the Church of St. Mary's of the Immaculate Conception*, p. 38. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 70. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 29, 1952. O'Farrell, *Parish Notes, St. Joseph's Church, Petersburg, Va.*, states that Father Hitzelberger succeeded at Petersburg, Rev. Joseph Dixon, who had been placed there by Bishop McGill in 1851.
75. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 418, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 80. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 29, 1952.
76. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
77. *The Metropolitan* (Baltimore, Md.), November, 1855.
78. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 29, 1952.
79. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, Feb. 29, 1952.
80. Glennan, *Reminiscences of Boyhood*.
81. Inscription on Devlin Monument, Saint Paul's Churchyard, Portsmouth, Va.
82. Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1953), p. 185.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
85. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *The Federal Period, 1763-1861*, Vol. II of *History of Virginia* (6 vols.; Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1924), p. 389.
86. James P. Hambleton, M.D., *A Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Wise, with a History of the Political Campaign in Virginia in 1855* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1856), p. 146.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
88. Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

89. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 421.
90. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 390. Barton Haxall Wise, *The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia, 1806-1876* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899), p. 202.
92. Hambleton, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
94. *Daily Richmond Enquirer*, May 23, 1855.
95. Hambleton, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 355. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
99. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 390.
100. *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, Sept. 11, 1855.
101. *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1855. *Daily Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 13, 1855.
102. *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, Sept. 14, 1855.
103. *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1855.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1855. *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Sept. 22, 1855.
106. *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, Sept. 25, 1855.
107. *Ibid.* *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Sept. 22, 1855.
108. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 390. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
109. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 83.
110. William A. Walsh, *Annals of the Catholic Church of Portsmouth, Va.*
111. *The Metropolitan* (Baltimore, Md.), December, 1856.
112. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, March 7, 1952.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*
116. *Ibid.*
117. McGill, "Record." It is not clear whether this meeting was held at Norfolk or Richmond.
118. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, March 7, 1952.
119. McGill, "Record."
120. *Ibid.*
121. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, March 14, 1952.
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Ibid.*
125. *Ibid.*
126. *Ibid.* Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.



127. Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
128. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*
129. *The Metropolitan* (Baltimore, Md.), April, 1953.
130. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. McGill, "Record."
133. McManus, *Sketch of the History of the Catholic Church in Martinsburg, W. Va.*
134. Rev. Joseph Plunkett to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Jan. 29, 1855, RDA.
135. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*
136. *Ibid.*
137. Holladay, "History of Portsmouth," *op. cit.*
138. William A. Walsh, *op. cit.*
139. *Ibid.*
140. *Ibid.*
141. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 78.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
143. *Ibid.* McGill, "Record."
144. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 78. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
145. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 78. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
146. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 78. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
147. Devitt, "St. Mary's (German) Church, Richmond, Va. (1850-1860)." Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 78. Remke, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
148. Devitt, "St. Mary's (German) Church, Richmond, Va. (1850-1860)." Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 78-79. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
149. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
150. *Ibid.*
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 87.
153. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
154. W. E. Antone, "St. Patrick's Catholic Church," typescript, RDA. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 85.
155. Antone, *op. cit.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 85-86.
156. *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.), June 13, 1859.
157. *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1859.
158. Antone, *op. cit.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 87.

159. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 651.
160. *Ibid.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 419.
161. *The Metropolitan* (Baltimore, Md.), November, 1855.
162. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 419. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 651.
163. Mahon and Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 651.
164. *Ibid.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, pp. 419-420.
165. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 419, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 81.
166. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 86.
167. *Ibid.*
168. *The Virginian-Pilot* (Norfolk, Va.). Two-Century Edition, 1900.
169. *Ibid.*
170. *Ibid.*
171. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 77. Yeakel, *The Nineteenth Century Educational Contribution of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Virginia*, p. 40, says that there were "eleven orphans and twenty-one boarders" at that time.
172. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. Keiley, *op. cit.*
176. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 83.
177. "St. Peter's School, Richmond," ms., RDA.
178. *Ibid.*
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*
182. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 83.
183. Bailey, *A Century of Catholicism in Historic Petersburg*, p. 16.
184. *Ibid.* Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *Synopsis of the History of St. Francis Xavier's Church of Lynchburg, Virginia*.
185. Richard Furt to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Sept. 29, 1855. Furt also wrote to the bishop that Father Timothy O'Brien "never slept in Petersburg under any other roof than mine."
186. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.*
187. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 82.

188. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *op. cit.*
189. *The South-Side Democrat* (Petersburg, Va.), April 17, 1856.
190. Glennan, *Reminiscences of Boyhood*, p. 4.
191. *Ibid.*
192. McGill, "Record."
193. *Ibid.*
194. *Ibid.*
195. *Ibid.*
196. *Ibid.*
197. *Ibid.*
198. *Ibid.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 83, is in error when he gives the date as March 23.
199. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 83.
200. *Ibid.*, p. 79. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 79, also states that Rev. Edward Flaherty, who came to the diocese in October, 1853, and at first served at the cathedral, was transferred in February, 1854, to Martinsburg. He was therefore presumably an assistant to Father Plunkett.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
202. McManus, *op. cit.*
203. *Ibid.*
204. *Ibid.*
205. *Ibid.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 88, states that Father Talty came to assist at Saint Peter's in December, 1859, and remained only until the following May.
206. Michael Lillis, "A Short History of Sacred Heart Church, Winchester, Virginia, as Related By Mr. Michael Lillis, Oldest Living Resident of Winchester," (hereinafter cited as "A Short History of Sacred Heart Church, Winchester"), typescript, RDA, Magri and Dittmeyer, *History of Saint Peter's Church, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and Missions*.
207. Rev. Michael Costello to Rt. Rev. John McGill, February 21, 1858, RDA.
208. Rev. Michael Costello to Rt. Rev. John McGill, August 27, 1859, RDA.
209. Elizabeth Dabney Coleman, "The Blue Ridge Tunnel," *Virginia Cavalcade*, I (Summer, 1951), 22.
210. *Ibid.*
211. *Ibid.*, 23.
212. *Ibid.*, 23.
213. *Ibid.*, 24.
214. *Ibid.*, 24.
215. *Ibid.*, 27.
216. *Ibid.*, 22.
217. *The Spectator* (Staunton, Va.), June 11, 1857.

218. *Ibid.*
219. Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia*, p. 91.
220. *St. Francis of Assisi Parish, Centennial Anniversary, 1850-1950*, p. 13.
221. *Ibid.*, Peyton, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
222. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 84, 88.
223. *Ibid.*, p. 85. McGill, "Record."
224. McGill, "Record."
225. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 85.
226. *The Log Chapel on the Rappahannock* (The Catholic Benevolent Union of Virginia, 1875).
227. *Ibid.*
228. John T. Goolrick, *Historic Fredericksburg* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1922), p. 176.
229. *The Log Chapel on the Rappahannock* (The Catholic Benevolent Union of Virginia, 1875).
230. *Ibid.*
231. McGill, "Record."
232. *Ibid.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 84.
233. McGill, "Record."
234. *Ibid.*
235. *Ibid.*
236. *Ibid.*
237. *Ibid.*
238. *Ibid.* He was assisted by Fathers Plunkett and Brady of Portsmouth, and Boyle, of Washington.
239. *The Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore, Md.), Sept. 15, 1860.
240. McGill, "Record." Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 84, is therefore in error when he states that the cardinal's letter was dated October 9, 1858, for that apparently was the date of its receipt.
241. Gay Montague Moore, *Seaport in Virginia, George Washington's Alexandria* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1949), p. 48.
242. Mary G. Powell, *The History of Old Alexandria, Virginia* (Richmond: the William Byrd Press, 1928), p. 113. Rt. Rev. Edward L. Stephens, *One Hundred and Fifty Years for Christ, 1795-1945, St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Virginia* (1945), p. 20. Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia from 1815 to 1822*, p. xxiv.
243. Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
244. Richard L. Carne, *A Brief Sketch of the History of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Va.* (Alexandria, Va.: J. Marriott Hill & Co.), 1874, p. 25.

245. Rev. E. I. Devitt, S. J., "Notes on Alexandria," typescript, GUA. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1808 . . . to . . . 1843*, p. 31.
246. Carne, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Devitt, "Notes on Alexandria." Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
247. Carne, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
248. Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
249. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
250. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
251. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
252. McGill, "Record."
253. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 416, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 78.
254. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, pp. 417-418, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 79.
255. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 421, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 84.
256. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 88. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 422, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 84.
257. Clarke, *op. cit.*, III, 92. "John McGill," *op. cit.* Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 418, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 79.
258. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 418, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 79.
259. Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, p. 175.
260. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 80.
261. McGill, "Record," Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 82, names October 13, but Bishop McGill recorded that, although the matters to be discussed were laid before the clergy on the afternoon of the thirteenth, the synod was not opened until the following morning.
262. McGill, "Record." Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 82.
263. McGill, "Record." Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 82.
264. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 82.
265. *Ibid.*



266. *Ibid.* Bell, *The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia*, p. 580.
267. McGill, "Record."
268. *Ibid.*
269. *Ibid.*
270. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER V

1. *The Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore, Md.), February 9, 1861. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *The Catholic Historical Review*, II (January, 1917), 422, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 87. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, pp. 431-432.
2. Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (6v; New York: Macmillan and Co., 1925-1926), VI, 271.
3. Most Rev. Francis P. Kenrick to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Dec. 1, 1860, RDA.
4. Channing, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
5. Most Rev. Francis P. Kenrick to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Feb. 14, 1861, RDA.
6. *The Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore, Md.), Feb. 9, 1861. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 432.
7. *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.), April 15, 1861.
8. Richard Lee Morton, *Virginia Since 1861*, Vol. III of *A History of Virginia* (6 vols.; Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1924), p. 9.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
11. *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.), April 22, 1861.
12. "The Montgomery Guard and the Men Who Composed It," ms. RDA. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 422, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 90. A complete roster of the Montgomery Guard may be found in Confederate Record Book I, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, Richmond, and in E. H. Chamberlayne, Jr., *Record of the Richmond City and Henrico County, Virginia, Troops, Confederate States Army* (Richmond: 1879). Series No. III.
13. "The Montgomery Guard and the Men Who Composed It."
14. Rev. Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. (ed.), *John Dooley, Confederate Soldier, His War Journal* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1945), p. xiv.
15. "The Montgomery Guard and the Men Who Composed It."
16. *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.), April 23, 1861. The same

issue mentioned that some of the men were "sturdy fellows over 6 ft. who have served in the Crimea and are accustomed to the shock of battle."

17. Durkin (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. xv.

18. Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, Series No. I, p. 7.

19. Charles T. Loehr, *War History of the Old First Virginia Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia* (Richmond: 1884), p. 7. *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.), May 27, 1861.

20. *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Va.), May 27, 1861.

21. Loehr, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

22. Capt. John C. Wickert and Capt. Henry G. Dickerson, "*The Old First*" *Virginia Infantry* (Richmond: 1933), p. 40. This engagement should not be confused with the First Battle of Manassas, which took place on July 21.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 41n.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43. A complete list of the battles in which the "Old First" participated may be found in Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, Series I, p. 2.

28. Loehr, *op. cit.*, p. 37. He succeeded Dooley in the captaincy when the latter was promoted to major. Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, Series I, p. 4.

29. Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, Series III, pp. 3-9.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

31. *Ibid.* Loehr, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

32. James H. Bailey, II, "The Family and Background of Anthony M. Keiley," *The Progress-Index* (Petersburg, Va.), May 18, 1947.

33. Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, Series III, p. 7.

34. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 422, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 90. The complete roster of the "Emmet Guards" may be found in Confederate Record Book II, the Archives Division, the Virginia State Library, Richmond.

35. Adjutant-General's Records, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.

36. Owen F. Morton, *A Centennial History of Alleghany County, Va.* (1923).

37. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 422, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 89.

38. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 89.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 91. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, III, 89. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 422. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843 to . . . 1866*, p. 432.

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41. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 423. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 432.
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45. *Ibid.*
46. Dr. John Herbert Claiborne, *Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia* (New York: The Neal Publishing Co., 1904), p. 66.
47. Stephens, *One Hundred and Fifty Years for Christ*, p. 34.
48. Carne, *A Brief Sketch of the History of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Va.*, pp. 10-11. Devitt, "Notes on Alexandria."
49. Carne, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Devitt, "Notes on Alexandria."
50. Carne, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
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52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. McManus, *Sketch of the History of the Catholic Church in Martinsburg, W. Va.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 93. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 432.
55. *The Log Chapel on the Rappahannock* (Catholic Benevolent Union of Virginia, 1874).
56. *Ibid.*
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58. Lillis, "Some Notes on Catholicity at Winchester and Vicinity."
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60. Magri and Dittmeyer, *History of Saint Peter's Church, Harper's Ferry*.
61. Josephus, Junior, *op. cit.*
62. George Barton, *Angels of the Battlefield* (Philadelphia: The Catholic Art Publishing Co., 1897), p. 11.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Alexandria Gazette* (Alexandria, Va.), May 6, 1861.
66. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. Lovett, O'Brien, and Lovett, *Synopsis of the History of Saint Francis Xavier's Church, Lynchburg, Va.* Grace Walsh, *The Catholic Church in Lynchburg, 1829-1936*, p. 18.
81. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
82. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 90.
83. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 432.
84. Meagher, *History of Education in Richmond*, p. 123. Yeakel, *The Nineteenth Century Educational Contribution of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Virginia*.
85. Remke, *Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Richmond, Va. 1843-1935*.
86. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, pp. 92-93.
87. Rt. Rev. John McGill to Rev. John Virtue, Sept. 17, 1863, RDA.
88. Rt. Rev. John McGill to Most Rev. Martin J. Spalding, Oct. 15, 1864, BCA, Case-35-G11.
89. Rt. Rev. John McGill to Most Rev. Martin J. Spalding, Nov. 23, 1864, BCA, Case-35-G10. These letters must have been sent under a flag of truce for that method of communication is mentioned by McGill in a letter to Spalding, dated Feb. 17, 1865, BCA, Case-35-G14.
90. Rt. Rev. John McGill to Most Rev. Martin J. Spalding, Jan. 7, 1865, BCA, Case-35-G14.
91. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 423, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 91.
92. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 91.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 92. Bishop McGill, according to Father Magri, "got together several thousand volumes of most profound works on Sacred Scripture, theology, church history, canon law, rubrics, history, travel, and miscellaneous writings of various kinds, embracing altogether what

is doubtless one of the rarest and best ecclesiastical libraries in the country. In fact, if we had no other way of judging of the profound learning and literary turn of Bishop McGill's mind than from the valuable books he collected during his lifetime, we would at once form the just conclusion that he was a man of wide and deep learning, and possessed of splendid literary ability."

94. Rt. Rev. John McGill, to Most Rev. Martin J. Spalding, Jan. 7, 1865, BCA, Case-35-G13.

95. *Ibid.*

96. Rt. Rev. John McGill to President Abraham Lincoln, BCA, Case-35-G13 enc.

97. Rt. Rev. John McGill to Most Rev. Martin J. Spalding, Feb. 17, 1865, BCA, Case-35-G14.

98. *Ibid.*

99. *Ibid.*

100. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 93.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

107. *Ibid.*

108. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 93.

109. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 435, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 95. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 433.

110. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 423, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 89. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 433.

111. A. M. Nugent to Rt. Rev. John McGill, Jan. 24, 1862, RDA.

112. Julian Lillis, *op. cit.*, Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 423, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 89. Norris, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 28. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 432.

113. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, p. 216. Julian Lillis, *op. cit.* Norris, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 208. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 433.

114. Julian Lillis, *op. cit.*

115. Aler, *A Full and Complete History of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia, Past and Present*, p. 357. Magri, "Catholicity in



Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," p. 423, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 89. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 433.

116. William A. Walsh, *Annals of the Catholic Church of Portsmouth, Virginia*.

117. *The Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore, Md.), Feb. 10, 1866.

118. Christian, *Richmond, Her Past and Present*, p. 302.

119. Holladay, "History of Portsmouth," *op. cit.*

120. Marioriello, "Father O'Keefe Sympathized with Cause of Confederacy," *op. cit.*

121. Mary Wingfield Scott, *Houses of Old Richmond* (Richmond: The Valentine Museum, 1941), p. 14. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, III, 88. Keiley, *Memoranda of the History of the Catholic Church in Richmond, Va.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 93. Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States from . . . 1843, to . . . 1866*, p. 434.

122. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

123. *Monte Maria Monastery of the Visitation, Diomand Jubilee, September 2, 1866-September 2, 1941* (Richmond, Va.).

124. *Ibid.*

125. *Ibid.* Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 126. The six pioneer nuns were Mother Juliana Matthews, and Sisters Mary Justina Prevost, Mary Lewis Williamson, Mary Innocent Macatee, Mary Francis de Sales Gahagan, and Mary Pelagia Rothings.

126. Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 127. *Monte Marie Monastery of the Visitation*, p. 5.

127. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 96.

128. *The Monte Maria Monastery of the Visitation*, pp. 5-6.

129. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 54. "St. Patrick's Academy, Richmond, 1866," typescript, RDA. Clarke, *op. cit.*, Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 98, and Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 125, all give the date of this establishment as 1867, an error which was obviously copied by W. E. Antone, "St. Patrick's Catholic Church," transcript, RDA, but the Yeakel dissertation, based largely on the archives of Saint Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Md., is authoritative.

130. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 98. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

131. "St. Patrick's Academy, Richmond," Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

132. Yeakel, *op. cit.*

133. *Ibid.* Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 99. "St. Patrick's Academy, Richmond."

134. Rev. J. A. Burns, *The Growth and Development of the Catholic*

- School System in the United States* (New York: Bensiger Bros., 1912), p. 90. Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
135. Remke, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
136. *Ibid.*
137. *Ibid.* Sister Mary Regina Baska, O.S.B., *The Benedictine Congregation of Saint Scholastica: Its Foundation and Development, 1852-1930*. (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1935), p. 99. Only two nuns, Sister M. Luitgard Schraudt and Sister Florian Kuhn, arrived in Richmond on May 1, 1868. Seeing that more help was needed, they asked for an assistant and were sent Sister M. de Sales Burgoon.
138. Baska, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
139. *Ibid.*
140. Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 42. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 99.
143. Keiley, *op. cit.*, Yeakel, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
144. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 98.
145. Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
146. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 101.
147. *Our Provinces, Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross* (Holy Cross, Ind.: Saint Mary's of the Immaculate Conception, Notre Dame, 1941), pp. 124-125. Stephens, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
148. *Our Provinces*, p. 125.
149. *Ibid.* They were Sisters M. Ambrose Corley, M. Leocadia Loughery, M. Gregory Barry, M. Bethania Wilson, M. Jerome Wilkinson, and M. Boniface Lauth.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*
153. *Ibid.*
154. *Ibid.*
155. *Ibid.*
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid.*
159. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Ibid.*
163. Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
164. *Ibid.*
165. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 101.

166. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, March 21, 1952.
167. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 101.
168. Hogan, *Golden Jubilee of the Church of St. Mary's of the Immaculate Conception*, p. 41. Maioriello, "History of Tidewater Catholicism," *The Catholic Virginian*, March 21, 1952.
169. Christian, *Richmond, Her Past and Present*, p. 325.
170. Charles Callan Tansill, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1940), p. xxi.
171. *The Herald* (New York), April 12, 1885.
172. Tansill, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. *Ibid.*
176. *Ibid.*
177. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. The real reason was probably the fact that he had been found "persona non grata" by the Italian Government, which had just entered into the Triple Alliance with Austria-Hungary, and Germany. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.
178. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.
179. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 425, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 96.
180. Clarke, *op. cit.*
181. *Ibid.*
182. *Ibid.* "John McGill," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. X. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 425, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 108. Both Clarke and the National Cyclopaedia assert that McGill also had been called to Rome by Pius IX in 1867 in connection with the anniversary of the martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul.
183. Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 92. "John McGill," *op. cit.*
185. Magri, "Catholicity in Virginia During the Episcopate of Bishop McGill (1850-1872)," *op. cit.*, p. 425, and *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 105.
186. Magri, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond*, p. 105.
187. Rt. Rev. James Gibbons, "Diary of Bishop Gibbons," ms., RDA, Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 92. "John McGill," *op. cit.*
188. Gibbons, "Diary."
189. Keiley, *op. cit.*
190. *Ibid.*
191. Gibbons, "Diary."
192. *Ibid.*
193. *Ibid.*



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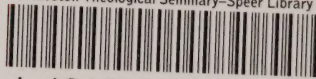
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